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ABSTRACT

New freedom and change in the foreign language profession are the focus of this volume. Chapters concern the following topics: (1) curricular changes--new freedom for students to explore varying time arrangements, different learning styles, diverse content, and various locations for instruction (T. Bruce Fryer); (2) communicative competence in the classroom (Renate A. Schultz and Walter H. Bartz); (3) a trends analysis of foreign language materials (Frederick L. Jenks); (4) individual differences in student learning styles and strategies and implications for instruction (Carol Hosenfeld); (5) the theory, strategy, and practice of foreign languae reading skill development (Janet K. King, Freda M. Holley and Betty Nance Weber); (6) learner systems and error analysis (Albert Valdman); (7) communication of the benefits of foreign language instruction to the community and within the school system (Pearl M. Warner); (8) preservice training of foreign language teachers (Barbara H. Wing); and (9) foreign language instruction in Holland (Peter Slagter). (SW)

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Perspective: A New Freedom

Edited by Gilbert A. Jarvis

In conjunction with the American Council
on the Teaching of
Foreign
Languages

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
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Foreword

Volume 7 of the ACTFL Review of Foreign Language Education continues the purposes of the series: the collection, analysis, and interpretation of the work of the profession.

An endeavor that requires the conceptualization, creation, and production of a volume such as this within one year cannot be realized without cooperation and hard work by many individuals. At ACTFL Headquarters C. Edward Scebold provided generous assistance and advice in all possible ways. At the National Textbook Company Marcia Seidletz and Karla Heuer skillfully managed the production and editing of the volume. At The Ohio State University the hundreds of clerical and supporting tasks were cheerfully and expertly done by Cathy Kaiser and Ronna Turner.

The Advisory Committee, consisting of Carol Goode, Helen Jorstad, June Phillips, Rita Sheridan, and C. Edward Scebold, is to be credited with planning the structure of the volume. The members also contributed valuable advice and feedback.

A very special note of acknowledgement and gratitude is due Alice Omaggio, who, in the role of Research Associate to the Editor, contributed superbly to all aspects of the project. For most phases of the volume's preparation her role would be more accurately described as that of a coeditor.

The user of this volume must appreciate the large self-sacrificing contributions of all the authors whose chapters appear in the volume. From outline to rough draft to final draft, hundreds of hours of work and significant unremunerated expense were required of each of them. If their dedication is representative of the profession, the future is bright indeed.

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1

Introduction: A bicentennial perspective

Gilbert A. Jarvis
Alice C. Omaggio
The Ohio State University

The desire for freedom has always been a dynamic force within the human community. In times of turbulence throughout man's history, the need to be free has raised great clouds of dust; in times of peace, when the dust has settled, freedom has continued to pulsate beneath the surface of quiet revolutions. Revolution is not necessarily a political phenomenon; it is the essence of growth and change, characterizing all facets of community life. One such "quiet revolution" is currently taking place in foreign language education, where the emphasis upon humanization, individualization, and accommodation to learner needs and interests represents a new assertion of *the right to individual liberty*. Yet, viewed from an historical perspective, this plea for a new freedom in education echoes an "old" plea for basic human rights, eloquently stated in 1776 in the *Declaration of Independence*.

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Gilbert A. Jarvis (Ph.D., Purdue University) is Associate Professor of Foreign Language Education at The Ohio State University, where he teaches graduate courses in various areas of foreign language education, particularly in second-language learning, research, and measurement. He has taught French at the elementary, secondary, and college levels and has directed teacher workshops and spoken to teacher groups in many parts of the country. Dr. Jarvis has been Head of the Psychology Section of the *ACTFL Annual Bibliography*. He is a coauthor of text materials, including *Connaître et se connaître* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston), and is Editor of Volumes 5 and 6 of the ACTFL Review of Foreign Language Education Series. His articles have appeared in various professional journals.

Alice C. Omaggio (M.A., The Ohio State University) is Research Associate and a doctoral candidate in Foreign Language Education at The Ohio State University. She has taught French at the university level, has supervised teaching assistants, and has conducted demonstration classes. She has contributed to foreign language education publications and has made presentations to teacher groups in Ohio. Affiliations include ACTFL and OMLTA.

Two centuries have not obscured the force of these words, nor the ideal of freedom that permeates them. Individuals are still struggling today against the threat of anonymity as the self is submerged in a social order of increasing complexity. That we must seek ways in the 1970s to prevent the erasure of the person in a mass society is clear. We must ensure that all learners are given an equal opportunity to develop into self-actualizing persons; that all individuals, born with the equal right to be themselves, are equally free to be different from others; that our students are as liberated as possible from the dictates of authoritarianism, from inflexibility, and from rigid patterns that so often characterize institutions in a society. We must seek ways to provide the youth of our nation with an education for life, an education that liberates them to become what they choose to be and that enables them to pursue their own kind of happiness.

This freedom, though simply stated, is not easily attained, nor is it easily preserved. The concept of freedom is complicated by the fact that it can be viewed from two perspectives: It can mean the abolition of external domination, in which case it is freedom *from* something; or it can mean the assertion and realization of the individual self, in which case it is freedom *to be* something. Freedom *from* constraints, when not accompanied by freedom in the positive sense, can have frightening implications: The absence of external controls can result in aimlessness and even anarchy; newfound independence may bring with it feelings of isolation and anxiety. Lack of direction is a negative kind of freedom, and the escape from responsibility is an illusory liberation at best.

The new freedom we must seek to attain in our profession is neither irresponsible nor aimless; it must be a double liberation, characterized not only by the relaxation of rigid patterns and the abandonment of outmoded traditions (freedom *from* the dictates of the past), but also by a continuing reorientation and constructive reevaluation of our goals and instructional procedures (freedom *to* realize the full potential of foreign language learning in the educative process).

Freedom is therefore an awesome responsibility, but it is one that the profession seems to be accepting. The chapters of this volume delineate ways in which this constructive process is already taking place in many areas of the field. It is a process marked by extraordinary change. In fact, change is occurring more rapidly now than at any time in the past—even more rapidly than in the early 1970s when "future shock" became the label for the feeling of disorientation brought about by the collision of today with tomorrow. But the rapid changes occurring within our profession need not lead to a loss of equilibrium; disorientation occurs only when change is implemented without attention to the understanding and adjustments that must accompany it. Although judgments about the validity of the changes delineated in these chapters must await the passage of time, we should view this climate of change with optimism, an optimism born of a genuine belief in the efficacy of thoughtful inquiry prior to the implementation of any new freedom.

A vibrant optimism characterizes the growing pool of talent and expertise in foreign language education. Young in their thinking, if not in age, these educators are bringing varying backgrounds and qualifications to the profession, expanding its potential for development in many domains. Foreign language education as a polydisciplinary collection of knowledge is becoming a reality. A diversity of programs offers an increasing variety of options to both students and educators. The absence of rigidity and prescription is indicative of the acceptance by many educators of the challenge to reorient their programs to meet more adequately the needs of the students of the 1970s. A reorientation of thinking about the nature of language and language learning has led the profession to gain a new perspective on old topics.

Yet, is this perspective really new? There is always the haunting doubt that each of us is merely rediscovering what earlier generations already understood. There are, for example, clear reflections of the themes and topics of humanism, career education, and accommodation to learners in Benjamin Franklin's (1) affirmation of the values of language study, especially of the classics. In 1749 he wrote:

> The most perfect Productions of Human Wit and Wisdom are in those Languages, which have endured Ages, and will endure while there are Men; that no Translation can do them Justice, or give the Pleasure found in Reading the Originals. . . . All intended for Divinity should be taught the *Latin* and

> *Greek;* for Physick, the *Latin, Greek,* and *French;* for Law, the *Latin* and *French;* Merchants, the *French, German,* and *Spanish*: And though all should not be compell'ed to learn *Latin, Greek,* or the modern foreign Languages; yet none that have an ardent Desire to learn them should be refused . . . (p. 25).

Perspective is difficult to achieve in an epoch of rapid change. It is elusive and fleeting. Today's perspective is tomorrow's memory of what once was, or what once might have been. It is risky. In the world of ideas there is often no yardstick to verify one's point of view. We may often be uncertain of what we have achieved and undecided about whether we like it. Perspective is relative. What is perspective to one person is misconception to another. In the year of the Bicentennial, for example, an educator may look at the United States and feel pride in having contributed to achieving a citizenry that is 99 percent literate, or he may feel disappointment in being part of an educational establishment that after many decades of universal public education has still failed to make one million citizens literate.

In spite of this ambiguity, man seems programmed to pursue the chase. In response to his innate drive to know and to understand, man must create perspective. If we foreign language educators are to achieve independence from yesterday's shackles, if we are to attain the freedom to realize our potential role in the development of tomorrow's children, it is appropriate to seek the perspective that will enable us to view the components of the profession in their proper relationships. The chapter authors in Volume 7 of the ACTFL *Review of Foreign Language Education* have tried to identify relationships among the many components of change so that they form intelligible patterns. This synthesis of information from diverse sources is most helpful in achieving perspective.

T. Bruce Fryer affirms that the profession has entered into an era of exploration. His extensive review of curricular changes reveals that foreign language educators at all levels are exploring alternate ways to provide valid learning experiences. He finds new freedom for students to explore diverse content, in varying time arrangements, through different learning styles, and in various locations. These new freedoms seem to result from a conscious decision by many educators who dare to accept the challenge to exchange the comforts of routine for the risk of innovation.

Renate Schulz and Walter Bartz find that today's classroom techniques place a greater emphasis upon communication. While prudently considering the possibility that communication could become a "bandwagon slogan," they conclude optimistically that foreign language study is becoming more genuinely humanistic as a result of the growing emphasis upon communication. The movement towards a communicative climate where affective considerations matter is not change born of futility. Rather, it is change born of the conviction that the individual's right to express freely his thoughts and feelings must extend into the classroom if education is to contribute to genuine growth and development.

Frederick L. Jenks, with the assistance of a group of graduate students at The Florida State University, has surveyed hundreds of items of teaching materials to identify and analyze trends and directions implicit in them. He carefully examines materials in juxtaposition with the rhetoric of the profession as it appears in our journals and at our conferences. His analysis reveals many positive trends that lead him to conclude optimistically that the years ahead should be viewed as "potentially vibrant ones."

Carol Hosenfeld provides a new perspective upon the learner. She delineates the many dimensions of individual differences that make each learner a unique challenge for the foreign language teacher. In providing a conceptualization for matching instruction to learner characteristics, she offers the teacher a viable means for achieving needed diversity within a flexible framework.

Janet King, Freda Holley, and Betty Weber conclude that we have entered a new era—an era in which reading skill is viewed from a new perspective and is given a new role. In their extensive review of the literature they indicate cautious extrapolations we might make from research on native language reading. These findings, along with societal changes, militate for instruction that is flexible and is free from methodological dogmatism—a shackle of the past that especially constrained reading skill development.

Albert Valdman shows vividly how psychologists' and linguists' views on language acquisition are currently undergoing profound change. He describes comprehensively how these changes have definite implications for foreign language teachers, curricular designers, and textbook writers. In the context of the new freedom implicit in these changes, errors are not viewed as pathological manifestations to be eradicated, but constitute instead the direct evidence of the learner's hypotheses and strategies. Errors are seen then in a new perspective. By understanding these hypotheses and strategies we as teachers discover the best way to facilitate further learning.

Pearl Warner documents both the need and strategies for foreign language educators to reach out beyond the walls of the classroom to communicate to all relevant groups about the benefits of foreign language study. She provides an extensive review of public relations efforts on behalf of language study all across the country. The result of such efforts to reach the community can be exciting; they can provide a new perspective on language learning to those who may be unaware of the extraordinary growth that has taken place in our discipline in the past few years. New insight will promote new understanding–an outcome that can only benefit our profession.

Barbara Wing provides a perspective that relates intimately to the future of the profession. She concludes that an optimistic future for foreign language education is contingent largely upon the preservice preparation of skilled, understanding, and committed individuals who are "free to become" effective teachers. She provides an up-to-date review and interpretation of developments in areas such as selectivity, early experience, and competency-based teacher education.

Peter Slagter furnishes an opportunity for the reader to achieve perspective by comparison. He describes salient aspects of foreign language education in the Netherlands. The recent history of foreign language education in Holland provides lessons that are undoubtedly relevant to many situations in the United States today.

As the United States passes its 200th birthday, foreign language education is not yet a powerful force in shaping society; but neither is it a declining, self-serving clique that has little to contribute. The profession has the potential to become either of these alternatives. The actions of all of us will make that determination. The perspective into the future may extend beyond our vision, but it does not extend beyond our control.

References, Introduction: A bicentennial perspective

1 Franklin, Benjamin. "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania (1749)," 21–26 in Tyrus Hillway, ed., *American Education: An Introduction Through Readings*. Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin, 1964.

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Free to explore: Curricular developments

T. Bruce Fryer
University of South Carolina

The thought of exploring evokes visions of expanded horizons and dreams of expeditions into the new and the unknown. Man is curious by nature; from his genesis he has explored his world. Today the realms to be explored extend beyond the earth's surface: Man's newest ventures have led him toward both the vast expanses of outer space and the impenetrable labyrinths of the "inner space" within himself.

Introduction

New era of exploration

The assumption on which this chapter is based is that we have entered into a new era of exploration in foreign language education and that more and more students are being freed to benefit from the changing patterns of foreign language curricula. This new curricular freedom will permit students to cope more successfully with the world of "future shock," and foreign language curricula can offer students a unique opportunity to learn how to cope with the impending changes.

Future shock

Toffler (158) describes future shock as ". . . the shattering stress and disorientation that we induce in individuals by subjecting them to too much change in too short a time. . . . Future shock is no longer a distantly potential danger, but a real sickness from which increasingly large numbers already suffer" (p. 2). Foreign language teachers attending a workshop entitled

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"Language for Life, Language for Change" encountered a manipulated "future shock" environment enveloping them in a strange and unusual set of surroundings geared to make them angry, frustrated, or upset (Woloshin, 165). This environment represented the kinds of changes that today's young citizens will most probably have to cope with in future years. Woloshin contends that "foreign language study can fill that gap better than any other area of the curriculum" (p. 8).

Filling the gap

Jarvis (73) also asserts that foreign language education comes closest to developing coping ability in students. Future shock for Jarvis is essentially the absence of familiar cues and in "foreign language learning . . . the student is in a very real sense stripped of familiar cues" (p. 107). Jarvis advocates optimism for the future of foreign language education and is confident that "we are on the brink of the greatest potential ever."

In the early 1970s a committee consisting of outstanding educators appointed by the Modern Language Association's Executive Council set out to explore the possibility of instituting an expanded national foreign language program. The result was the development of "A New Foreign Language Program for the 1970s" (110). In their comments concerning the difficult situation confronting foreign language curricula in FLES, secondary schools, and colleges and universities, the committee maintains that the "situation is serious enough to suggest that reevaluation is in order, that the traditional curriculum in foreign languages needs to be augmented by other kinds of language offerings, and that the time is indeed ripe for a new multilevel multifaceted national program" (pp. 7–8). The committee acknowledges that the learning of a language for the purpose of studying its literature has been central in the discipline and will probably remain so; however, they suggest that "broader humanistic values of a particular work" be stressed instead of "merely the text itself" (p. 11). According to the committee, literature-oriented departments would be well advised to consider the following suggestions:

Literature-oriented departments

1 To expand humanistic aspects for the nonmajor and to explore the possibility of initially attracting students to the foreign language through teaching its literature in English translation

2 To shift emphasis from "language and literature" to "language and culture"
3 To develop courses about human language, rather than courses in a particular language
4 To develop new courses directed toward the special interests of students majoring in history, economics, sociology, political science, or any other discipline
5 To provide for immediate goals of students via a variety of special interest courses (pp. 11–12).

In addition to these classroom suggestions, the committee encouraged activities exploring the possibilities for foreign language students "beyond the classroom" (p. 13). They suggested the following:

Beyond the classroom

1 Encouragement of foreign language study in nonacademic areas such as commercial or government schools
2 Utilization of the mass media for the promotion of foreign languages emphasizing particularly video cassettes
3 Involvement of community resources, that is, our national linguistic resources, thereby demonstrating that the United States is a multilingual nation
4 Development of opportunities for travel abroad.

A review of curricular developments indicates that many of these suggestions are already being implemented.

Several years ago, with the elimination in many instances of the foreign language requirement, many educators felt that foreign languages were condemned to a slow academic death. Have the conditions changed sufficiently to warrant a new optimism? At least one recent source indicates that the situation may be changing. Adams (1) reports that foreign languages are being revived in North Carolina high schools and universities. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has instituted broad curricular reforms based on the recommendations of students and faculty, and enrollments are up from 12.6 percent of the undergraduates in 1971–72 to 20 percent in 1974–75. In addition, the enrollment in North Carolina public schools in foreign languages is reported to have increased dramatically at least in part due to a promotional program.

New optimism

Foreign language curricula in the Bicentennial year

The year 1976 marks the 200th anniversary of the birth of our nation. It also marks a time when many Americans are questioning the basic institutions of our society, including education. Only with positive action can we overcome what VanSlyck (161) refers to as America's "profound disillusionment in the honesty, public indebtedness and competence of those entrusted to lead" (p. 15). In rediscovering our freedoms during the bicentennial period, we would do well to emphasize the theme of heritages in our curricula, as suggested by the Bicentennial Committee. As Altman (3) points out, "If there is one place in the American school where students 'ought' to discover that 'all men are created equal,' it is in the foreign language classroom" (p. 14). Additionally, Altman states that the American Bicentennial may be the last major opportunity for foreign language educators to demonstrate to students and their parents the role of languages in a general education "regardless of a person's sex, race, religion, national origin, occupational aspirations, geographic location, or IQ scores" (p. 15). Kennedy (81) has encouraged teachers in Prince George's County Public Schools to prepare activities for the Bicentennial celebration to help students reaffirm their heritage. She feels that whatever is suggested for social studies could be paralleled in any foreign language.

Equality

Definition of curriculum

Frymier et al. (51) regard "actors" (that is, students, teachers, or individuals directly involved in the educational process) as one of the three essential elements in the curriculum. "Artifacts" (subject matter with a purpose) and "operations" are the other two elements that constitute the curriculum. This chapter utilizes the definition that curriculum comprises all the planned outcomes for which the actors in educational institutions are responsible. This definition is broad enough to include humanistic objectives such as "the ability to cope and understand one's feelings" (Jarvis, 73, p. 107) as well as the more commonly planned outcomes that are often mainly cognitive in nature.

Types of exploration

Evidence of students' freedom can be observed in four areas:

1 The freedom to explore with time as a variable
2 The freedom to explore with different learning styles
3 The freedom to explore with varying course content
4 The freedom to explore different locations for learning other than within the confines of the regular school building or classroom

For practical directions in the implementation of many of the following ideas, Logan (93) provides a step-by-step description of how to individualize a program. Disick (36) provides further practical suggestions along with the theoretical framework for humanizing foreign language education.

Time as a variable

The existence of many intensive programs, immersion programs, self-pacing programs, and new curricular arrangements such as the quinmester or the quarter system provide examples of student exploration in the variable of time in foreign language learning.

Self-pacing most common

The most common type of time-individualized program in the mid-1970s is self-pacing. Bradley (19) describes an individualized German program at Reno (Nevada) High School in which students receive variable credit in one-quarter-unit increments. Proficiency of 80 percent in the four skills and culture is required to move ahead. Sutton (147) conducts a third-level self-pacing program in Toledo, Ohio, based on packets, using the text *Hablar y leer* and employing three written tests per chapter. Her level-four and level-five programs are individualized by learning needs, interests, goals, and learning modes. Optimism is evident throughout her program as demonstrated by an enrollment increase from 300 in 1973–74 to 500 in 1974–75.

At Prince George's Community College in Largo, Maryland, Blanco and Charro (14) report that because some students could or would not take the responsibility for their own learning in a self-paced course and because of colleague pressure, they switched to an enrichment program rather than self-pacing.

Self-pacing to enrichment

> Now everyone completes the same number of lessons per semester, but those students whose first lesson quiz indicates mastery have the option of doing additional activities or be-

> ginning work in the following lesson, while those who do not reach 70 percent mastery or who are not satisfied with their grade can review and take an alternate form of the quiz (14, p. 7).

At the university level, Stansfield (140) reports that a self-pacing program in Spanish at the University of Colorado permits individually chosen strategies for attaining course objectives. Students may fall one week behind the syllabus requirements for traditional lockstep classes. Patterson (119) describes a non-lockstep contract-graded program in Russian at the University of California at Davis operated from a specially designated Russian room which serves as a testing area, counseling room, and cultural center. He now operates a similar program at SUNY at Buffalo. Ewton (44) points out that the individualized pacing course at the University of California at Berkeley described by Clausing et al. (33), the most highly researched self-pacing program, has retained a four-skills approach and continues to provide individualized aids in conjunction with a conventional text and with conventional goals. Hartley and Dannerbeck (66) and Fryer (49) describe a program in Spanish at the University of South Carolina in which conventional goals are also retained. The further development of this program to include three separate languages, each with separate testing and diagnostic centers, is described by Dannerbeck et al. (35). These programs are moving in the direction of offering self-pacing with more deadline restrictions. Smith (139) reports that the continuous-progress program at Purdue will have more restricted deadlines since "too often students see individualization as procrastination." At Brigham Young University a program of self-pacing was abandoned to return to. the traditional lockstep approach (Taylor, 149). Some of the reasons listed for discontinuing the program are that students choose the program only because it is convenient, that only a few students move ahead at a rapid pace, and that students focus on the passing of tests and ignore stated objectives.

One additional week

Conventional objectives

Toward more restricted deadlines

Two factors are necessary for a successful self-paced program to operate:

1 A modified approach with more specified deadlines, but

Sina qua nons *for self-pacing*

which at the same time provides some flexibility in time and permits the talented student to move ahead at a faster pace

2 A true believer in charge of the course—that is, one who truly believes in [illegible] philosophy of individualization and who has the resources to operate the program.

This point is emphatically made by Reinert (124).

Intensive or immersion programs

Four-week immersion in high school

Another variation in the time element that has been employed to a greater degree in the past year is the intensive or immersion program. Paquette (117) encourages the profession to rediscover its "earlier boldness." He has proposed that basic language instruction be offered exclusively in a program of total immersion. Kalivoda (79) identifies characteristics of intensive programs that may interfere with their implementation and suggests ways to organize such courses so that their effectiveness will be enhanced. As he points out, studying other curricular subjects while being enrolled in an intensive foreign language course negates the real value of the intensive course. This fact makes an intensive course difficult to implement at the secondary school level. A successful example is reported by Jarvis (72) who describes a four-week immersion program in French and Spanish at the Miami Valley School in Dayton, Ohio, designed by David O'Dell, Principal, and Diane Gomer, Program Director. For six hours each day students in Grades 7 through 9 spend all their time learning the foreign language. The classes are small, only 12 to 15 students. Results indicate that language achievement is approximately comparable to that of the traditional program offering one hour of instruction for a year. Student attitudes are positive because activities include the exclusive use of the foreign language while playing basketball or soccer and visiting a culturally authentic café built in the school. One advantage of such a program is that it permits a small school to offer foreign language instruction at a lower cost than with a full-year program requiring permanent staff.

Kalivoda (79) sees a solution to the usual problems with intensive programs at the college and university level. Hours of credit can match the number of class meetings, and outside preparation time for students can be twice the number of class hours. He observes that the course duration for long-term intensive programs may vary from 6 months to 18 months, or the programs may last for shorter periods such as a semester or a month.

Dangers in two-semesters-in-one

Everett (43) suggests that the first two semesters of college language instruction be taught in one semester. After this initial semester, students would be eligible to enter an intermediate course. Some of the same dangers inherent in a self-pacing program for poor to average students are also found in this type of program. In addition, many students who have difficulty with language study postpone enrollment until late in their school careers. These students tend to be less able to cope with the rapid pace of immersion programs.

Total immersion in Spanish

Giusti (56) reports on a total immersion program at Northern Arizona University. Both beginning and intermediate students of Spanish are moved through a minimum of 16 credit hours to a maximum of 19 in a single semester. The program allows the student to prepare for professional endeavors involving Spanish in a shorter period of time than would a traditional program.

Intensive language and travel

An intensive course at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, coupled with a 10-week study period in Mexico in which the intensive language study is continued, offers students variation in time and location (Lamson, 89). Heflin (67) describes an intensive 18-credit-hour program in Spanish during a summer quarter at the University of Tennessee. The full two-year language requirement can be met. The program is also available in French. Benseler (11) views a summer program at Washington State University conducted by Labat, Weaver, and himself in French, Spanish, and German respectively as an opportunity for incoming freshmen to complete nearly the first two years of their major in a language, thus enabling them to major also in a second discipline. He reports that the summer experience results in enthusiastic upper-division students.

Intensive language and a second major

The use of summer school in this productive manner gives rise to other arrangements for curricular revision, particularly at the secondary school level. Keaton (80) suggests that year-round schooling might be acceptable to a majority of teachers and might offer advantages in secondary schools. The Foreign Language Section of the Texas Education Agency (152) listed several plans of curricular arrangement that would meet state statutory requirements:

Quarter plans

1 The Three-Quarter Plan which divides the normal nine-month calendar into three quarters rather than two semesters
2 The Optional Fourth- (Summer-) Quarter Plan in which all students are required to attend September through May and may attend an optional fourth quarter
3 The Flexible-Quarter Plan in which students attend any three of four quarters
4 The Rotated Four-Quarter Plan which extends the length of the school day and contains a tri-quarter schedule of three 60-day terms

These new curricular arrangements may give rise to new course offerings and new course content particularly in the form of mini-courses (Joiner, 76, p. 166).

Learning style as a variable

Individualization: more than self-pacing

Warriner (162) points out the danger of equating the individualization of foreign language instruction only with the concept of self-pacing because a majority of teachers who do not go beyond self-pacing may sit back and never make any attempt to individualize other aspects of instruction.

Learning styles

As Frymier (51) points out, there is no best way of doing anything in school situations which would be "best for all children, because children differ" (p. 11). However, as Valette (160) observes, it "is probably in the area of learning modes where the concept of individualization is most needed and least practiced" (p. 9). Operating under the hypothesis that each individual learns more efficiently using some particular strategies rather than others, Reinert (124) suggests an exercise that will enable the teacher to determine whether a student internalizes material best by 1) a visual image of a thing or action; 2) a visual image of the word itself spelled out; 3) no visual image, the sound of the word carrying meaning; 4) some kind of momentary kinesthetic response to the word. Although the validity and reliability of the procedure have not been established, teachers at all levels might be better able to assist students in seeking their own learning styles by employing and validating techniques of this type in their classes.

As a technique for accommodating individual learning styles, Papalia (116) describes several models whereby the classroom can be arranged:

1 Group Investigation Model in which students learn from each other
2 Information Processes Model in which inductive or deductive processes are used
3 Personal Inquiry Model in which the assumption is that each individual has the ability to cope with his own situation in his own constructive way
4 Operant Conditioning Model which rewards positive responses via audiolingual techniques (pp. 213–14).

Papalia points out the hope that teachers focus on their students' learning styles and needs before they construct learning environments (p. 216).

Student-chosen materials

Mueller (107) divides the first-year course in French at the University of Kentucky into eight mini-courses of one credit each. Tutorial sessions for those who fall behind are begun four weeks into the semester. Materials used by the students are based on two main learning theories—audiolingual and cognitive code. This is the most important feature of the program because the student has the choice of the material, which he selects consciously with the help of his instructor (p. 2). Mueller (108) finds that the lower-ability student is more likely to learn with behavioristic theories of a modified audiolingual approach, while the better student profits more and is happier with the cognitive code learning theory (p. 251).

Student-developed materials

Once learning styles have been established, students can be involved in the development of their own materials or activities. Becker and Powell (8) give an account of a project in which students produced a script in French to accompany slides of particular themes, such as "At the Restaurant" or "At the Bank." Nakamoto (109) describes a project in which students designed, developed, and interacted with their own self-tutorial modules as part of a project to individualize instruction.

Cadet teaching experiences

The cliché, "one learns best by teaching," is being put into practice in cadet programs in which advanced students tutor lower-level students who are having problems. Grone (62) describes a workshop in Lincoln, Nebraska in which high school students who were aspiring foreign language teachers assisted in preparing materials for elementary school foreign language students. This program was established in a "hands-on-experience" with a high school career education program.

Another learning mode available to students is drama. Morain (101) suggests implementation of a more "frequent and systematic use of dramatization in the foreign language classroom" (p. 1). Her justification for its use is that drama is feeling, communication, and being alive. She poses the question, "Isn't that what languages are all about" (p. 2)?

A Spanish wedding

As a source for variety in advanced Spanish classes, Giannetti (55) recommends several plays that lead quickly to role-playing and simulation of real-life experiences. He also employs fiestas and folklore for his drama club, mainly fifth-year students. In Columbia, South Carolina, Green (58) had Spanish IV and V students plan and enact a Spanish wedding emphasizing the Cuban tradition. Students collected data from wedding clippings in newspapers, interviewed Spanish-speaking people, consulted Spanish etiquette books, and compiled their findings. They even decided on the size of the wedding and the wedding party. In addition to assuming wedding roles, individual students served as photographer, caterer, florist, wedding director, reporter, and invitation chairperson. In addition to planning the menu, the caterer "even baked and decorated a wedding cake" (p. 4).

Spanish theatre internship

At Staten Island Community College, Holt (68) teaches a Spanish Theatre Internship Program. Students who enroll in a regular course in Spanish theatre have the option of enrolling in an internship program for three additional credits. Activities include a survey of Spanish theatre in New York based on attendance of plays and the production of a scene of a play with commentary and production notes. According to Holt, "the course related literature and the arts in varied ways and also presents drama in its proper context: the living theatre."

Computer-assisted instruction

Another option for student exploration is computer-assisted instruction. Ruplin (126) describes the possibilities as limitless, though he admits that what has been done to this point is limited. In addition, he provides a bibliography of terms useful to neophytes interested in this developing trend. The development of the PLATO (Programmed Logic for Automatic Teaching Operation) System at the University of Illinois campus at Urbana-Champaign has led to proliferation into many academic disciplines and across distances as far as the east and west coasts of the United States (121). Scanlan (130) has written four computer-assisted courses in Latin at the beginning level: *Latin Composition; Vergil's Aeneid, Books 1, 2, 4, 6;* and *Vocabulary Building Through Latin and Greek Roots.* Irregular verb drills for French have been programmed by Terry (151) at the University of Richmond. Morford (104) outlines a computer-assisted course programmed for the classical roots of scientific terminology with the opportunity for self-pacing and individual review branching. A guide by Tebben (150) is used in conjunction with the course.

Multimedia language programs

Multimedia programs afford other opportunities for student exploration of varying learning styles. Huberman and Medish (70) report on a multimedia language system developed at American University in Washington involving video taped presentation of grammatical materials and vocabulary items. The materials may be used to accommodate specialized needs of individual institutions of higher learning. In addition to the video tapes and student materials, students are exposed throughout the course to serialized versions of Luis Bunuel's *Mexican Bus Ride* in the original Spanish.

Weekly radio program by students

In Logan, Ohio, Zesiger (167) describes the establishment of a weekly high school student-operated radio program dealing with the Hispanic world. "Each program contains musical numbers related to Spanish, a spotlight on a country or special area, a recipe, probably a sports shot, and an interview with someone who is a native" or who has traveled in an Hispanic country. Included are slang expressions, idioms, proverbs, riddles, and trivia in Spanish.

Shortwave radio

Shortwave radio, while not a new phenomenon in language teaching, has possible application from beginning classes at the high school level to undergraduate and graduate level (Schwartz, 131). At Dover High School in Delaware he directs primary emphasis to news broadcasts. The various shortwave stations that generate German and other language transmissions offer other content such as commentaries, literature, drama, music, political analysis, and highly idiomatic presentations, all of which can be utilized by high school teachers.

Because expanding student clientele is a goal of the foreign language profession today, a course via television for undergraduate or graduate students and for the general public is a welcome sight. Buffington (26) at Purdue University prepared a course entitled *A Survey of Russian Culture and Civilization*, consisting of 45 taped presentations, each 30 minutes long. Three different lectures were presented at various times during each week of the semester, thus giving students the flexibility of choosing their own viewing time. He employed slide recordings, filmstrips, posters, pictures, realia from the USSR, and artists' drawings to develop specific course concepts.

Television

The Purdue Interdepartmental Film Studies Program is overseen by an interdepartmental film committee and provides a film studies major (Lawton, 91, p. 18). Courses are available in French, German, Russian, East European, Spanish, and Italian in the Modern Language Department.

Interdepartmental film studies

Varying content

Savignon (129) suggests techniques of teaching that emphasize communication as the chief outcome and invoke freedom to explore language rather than subjugation to a corrective system implicit in audiolingual methodology. This freedom for exploration is evident in her effort to permit semantic richness in early stages of language instruction. The student is permitted to learn the labels for the things he wants to know. Grammatical "errors" are the natural consequence of learning and exploring, and Savignon points out that "error" comes from the Latin *errare* meaning "to wander" (p. 37). As students reach out for new vocabulary to express their individual interests, these individual interests may well open up new avenues of course content. The profession is responding to this challenge in the following ways:

Content exploration

1 Offering varied content in smaller doses called mini-courses or quarter courses
2 Varying learning activities packages (LAP's) within traditional or individualized programs
3 Broadening the concept of the word *culture* in the planned outcomes of foreign language courses
4 Including humanistic outcomes to provide more immediate

satisfaction to students in the present who want to meet their basic psychological needs

5 Permitting the permeation of career education content into the regular foreign language curriculum and developing special courses and programs related to career education

New cultural content

The teaching of culture within Seelye's (133) broadened definition received a great deal of attention during the past year. An able profession is beginning to place manageable materials into the hands of teachers. A companion to Seelye's text is Gorden's *Living in Latin America: A Case Study in Cross-Cultural Communication* (57).

Lambert (88) suggests alternatives to the basic assumptions of language teaching and calls for a shift of the cultural setting from nations abroad to the Afro-American, Spanish-American setting at home in this country. He also calls for the language-learning process to include not only the communicative process, but also exploration of various peoples and their life styles.

Jenks (74, 75) would have the student learn about another culture and also learn *how* to learn about another culture. He points out that "learning to seek out is an essential goal of education" (Jenks, 75, p. 98). Bostick (16) suggests ways of bringing Afro-French literature and culture into the secondary and college classroom through culture capsules, mini-courses, interdisciplinary programs, and projects.

Why we act as we do

Tinsley and Woloshin (157) discuss German and American culture with respect to human nature, social relations, man and nature, time, and space. As they point out, the basic ideas in these areas, inferred from cultural phenomena, can explain a great deal about the behavior of both Germans and Americans in many situations and thus contribute to an understanding of why we act and react differently under similar circumstances (p. 135).

Crosscultural understanding and concern is a vibrant growing dimension of the foreign language curriculum. For further references readers are directed to an excellent chapter written by Howard L. Nostrand (112).

Humanistic theories

Humanistic theories for motivating students are receiving more attention now than ever before in curricular decision-making processes. The 1975 Northeast Conference outlines four general educational goals and student objectives that reflect this trend: civic responsibility, positive self-image, career education, and empathetic human relationships (Born, 15, pp. 122–25). Disick (36), a leading advocate for affective objectives in foreign language learning, points out that the "attitudes, feelings, and values of foreign language learners have nowhere received so much attention as has been devoted to their cognitive achievements" (p. 44). It is, however, becoming more evident that these affective elements cannot be overlooked in the classroom (Disick and Barbanel, 38, p. 218). Disick (37), rather than specifying particular curricular goals in the affective domain, feels they should be decided by the people directly involved in a particular teaching situation, reinforcing the idea of the importance of the teacher in curricular decisions.

The trend toward sensitizing teachers to include techniques of affective education in their classes seems to have been increasing in the past year. A *Human Dynamics in Foreign Language* series has become available through the National Humanistic Education Center in Italian (Morel, 103) and French (Stoller et al., 144). Similar material had already been available in Spanish and general foreign language (Wilson and Wattenmaker, 164). Workshops are being organized in various places to assist teachers in helping students value themselves and each other (111).

Grittner (60, 61) views the humanistic curriculum as "not concerned with making a living" but rather concerned with having a reason for living in the first place. The student is viewed as a co-learner, exploring together with the teacher in today's knowledge explosion (Grittner, 61, p. 11). The field psychologist's term *life space*, which refers to whatever is in a person's life in a given moment, also applies to the student according to Grittner (60), and everything else is irrelevant (p. 3).

Life space

Still another factor influencing the variation in course content is the career education movement. As Steiner (142) indicated, career education can be related to the humanistic movement because the "new curriculum which career education can produce will emphasize humanism—man's relationship to other men, man's values and how they differ from one culture to another, and man's customs and tradition" (pp. 89–90). Career

Career education

education emphasizes that all subjects in the curriculum have some interrelationship. Career education is *not*:

1 Synonymous with vocational and technical education
2 Training all students to have a marketable skill at graduation
3 A return to the 1930s education where education existed only to train workers
4 Just another course in the curriculum

Kennedy (82) elaborates on the nature of career education:

1 It is for all individuals—children through adult
2 It represents a joint effort of school and community
3 It is a developmental process which is part of the larger pattern of human growth and development

Vocational courses designed by students

An example of career education involving different kinds of individuals is found at Crossland Senior High School in Maryland. Here upper-level students in French, German, and Spanish design many courses for vocational students who want to learn basic foreign language expressions and study terminology relevant to their field. These upper-level foreign language students are exploring their own career goals in teaching and facilitating the learning of other students in their specific technical areas (Kennedy, 83).

Jones (77) lists three components to the career education goals in Fayette County, Kentucky: career awareness in elementary school, career exploration in junior high school, and preparation in the senior high school. Numerous career exploration activities utilizing foreign languages are described in a manual developed by Breiner (20) for the Cincinnati Public Schools.

Captain Fore Lang, super hero

Within the realm of student-developed career education materials is a comic book created by Debra S. Burden, Elizabeth G. Summers, and Terri L. Renner (27) (under the direction of R. Lafayette and L. Strasheim at Indiana University). A new super hero, Captain Fore Lang, extols the virtues of foreign language study. The possibilities for including career education concepts as part of the regular curriculum as a motivator for students are limitless. Anyone planning to counsel students or to develop curricular innovations in career education for foreign languages should consult the source work by Honig and Brod (69).

Location

Natural versus artificial language

Macnamara (96) perceptively points out that if one observes the results of foreign language learning in the classroom versus the natural settings, one observes "that homes and streets produce 'natural languages,' whereas schools produce 'artificial' language" (p. 254). There are two ways to overcome the problem: Improve the climate within the classroom by creating situations requiring real communication, or provide natural settings for the use of the foreign language outside the classroom.

The profession has emphasized study abroad in the foreign country to provide natural settings. For a comprehensive study of such programs, the reader is directed to Bourque's (18) description of these program types. Certainly this aspect of foreign language study will receive new emphasis utilizing intensive prestudy instruction and poststudy-abroad follow-up as a means for expanding the curriculum. More and more, however, the profession is also utilizing facilities and human resources closer to home. Two outstanding examples that are gaining momentum are the foreign language camp and the career-oriented or community-oriented programs in areas where native speakers of the foreign language are numerous.

Foreign language camps

Preller (122) describes foreign language camps as one of the most popular promotional activities in Colorado. Often they involve a three-day weekend during which a ranch, a lodge, or a YMCA camp is converted into a foreign language village. Foreign language teachers and invited native speakers provide menus, songs, dances, games, and an opportunity to communicate in a foreign language. Many programs directed toward the community involvement aspect are appearing, particularly in Spanish, but also in French, German, Italian, and other popularly spoken languages within the United States. Often these courses appear in community colleges or in continuing education programs.

Elementary and secondary school foreign language departments can improve curricular possibilities by involving the community. Lavergneau (90) suggests adopting semester courses that incorporate conversation and composition, culture and literature, and poetry and drama to meet student needs. Other disciplines should also be involved in the preparation.

The location variable has been combined with other types of student exploration to enhance language and culture acquisition. Palyok (115) annually takes a group of students to France on a study tour for which students receive two school credits, one for French and one for social studies. At Manchester Community College Tamarkin (148) developed cultural traits and observational skills via a career Spanish program that took students to Puerto Rico. By preparing mini-dramas on location, students developed a greater awareness of the target culture.

Varied time, place, and content

A German program combining career objectives in architecture, multimedia materials, intensive time, and the location variable was developed by Ferrari (46) at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. "German for Architects" can be taken on campus in Virginia before going to Salzburg, Austria, or the first- and second-year courses may be taken in Austria.

Exploration in FLES

FLES programs continue to be a relatively isolated phenomenon in American elementary schools. While the economic recession of 1974–75 has ominous implications for FLES, already considered a frill by many public educators, the future of foreign language exploration in elementary schools is favorable.

Interdisciplinary FLES ideas

The possibility of moving into interdisciplinary areas seems promising. Knop (85) recommends contacting classroom and special teachers before the beginning of the school year to find out what content areas might be beneficial for reinforcement of the foreign language skills. Some of her suggestions include learning songs in the foreign language similar to those the music teacher has taught in English, doing exercises performed in physical education classes, solving math problems appropriate for the grade level, learning place names from the region, and utilizing puppets or other projects involving art.

Multilingual FLES

Firestone (47) describes a multilingual program in four languages (French, Spanish, Italian, and Teutonic German) for 175 students in preschool through Grade 6 at New Rochelle Country Day School in New York. Classrooms contain cassette tape players which students may use for any of the languages whenever they wish. The recordings are of the spoken language, poems, and songs. Illustrations are available with the language syllabus for better comprehension.

Varied scheduling and staffing

New York City continues to offer French, Spanish, Italian, German, and Hebrew to a populous audience via a variety of staffing and scheduling arrangements (Benardo and Lipton, 13). A description of these procedures provides evidence of the student's exploratory opportunities. They include a teacher exchange of classes during which one teacher covers other curricular areas while a foreign language teacher offers the language to the other group; supplementing the basic program with resource personnel (for example, student teachers, college students, paraprofessionals, high school students); the use of media such as television, radio, listening corners, tapes and cassettes, video tapes, Language Masters, filmstrips, and films for small-group and individualized instruction (Benardo and Lipton, 13).

A bilingual television series entitled *Villa alegre* for four- to eight-year-old children involves live characters, film, and animation through situations, stories, songs, games, and dances. The series is being aired nationally.

Ways to expand FLES alternatives

In Tucson, Arizona, the success of a FLES program in Spanish has prompted the formation of a group chaired by David Woloshin to seek the possibility of making alternatives available and expanding foreign language awareness and program development in French and German at the elementary school level (Chambers, 31, pp. 17–18).

In addition to bilingual areas, Stern and Stern (143) discuss the piloting of a FLES program in a less-favored neighborhood which is *not* bilingual. They maintained close cooperation between the elementary school and the junior high school and encouraged peer teaching.

Exploration in secondary schools

Secondary schools are moving away from the long established objective of teaching foreign language to fulfill college entrance or graduation requirements and are permitting students to explore new areas of inquiry. Many teachers are often unable to move into complete individualization. Wells (163) suggests

Compromise in individualization

a compromise involving large- and small-group instruction as well as individualized instruction. She devotes a day to using various stations for pronunciation, comprehension, conversation skills, grammar skills, and enrichment.

At least four major influences are being felt in the secondary school area of the curriculum:

1 Exploratory programs
2 Mini-courses of varying content
3 Interdisciplinary programs
4 Career education

Exploratory programs

Fearing and Grittner (45), in a report produced by participants in an ACTFL Pre-Convention Workshop in Denver, define an exploratory language program as a "linguistic and cultural experience which precedes or initiates a regular sequential language program" (pp. 1–2). The program also helps students to make better decisions about a course of study in which they will probably be spending at least two academic years and provides for the following benefits: 1) broader interest generated in languages and the corollary of combatting elitism, 2) introductory ideas of bicultural acceptance at a crucial period in student social development, and 3) a chance to learn how to learn a language (p. 2). Furthermore, participants identified five approaches to exploratory programs:

1 The beginning sequence approach amounts to beginning a serious study of language.
2 The language potpourri offers a combination of foreign languages as a requirement for successive nine-week periods in a given school year.
3 The general language course aids students to understand the nature of language.
4 The single language exploratory offering is a setup where one language is offered in a six- or nine-week block or on alternate days for an entire semester.
5 The required elective approach requires all students to elect one of the languages offered in high school for a nine-week period in the middle school.

Different types of exploration

Kennedy (84) reports on an exploratory program in Prince George's County Public Schools in which two groups of seventh-

and eighth-grade students in each school were to explore French and Spanish, one semester per language under the supervision of two teachers. A second model in the same district divides two teachers teaching two parallel classes. Teacher A teaches French and Spanish and Teacher B teaches Spanish and German.

	Student Group I	*Student Group II*
1st 12 weeks	French (Teacher A)	German (Teacher B)
2nd 12 weeks	German (Teacher B)	French (Teacher A)
3rd 12 weeks	Spanish (Teacher A)	Spanish (Teacher B)

Bourque (17) describes a program in Grade 7 in which students are introduced to foreign languages through an exploratory course on the nature of language. The students experience examples of many languages to illustrate differences and to help them better understand English structure and vocabulary. They also learn about people of other cultures and about their own ethnic backgrounds. Students may begin their study of French, German, or Spanish in Grade 8.

Less grammar, more exploration

Morrow (105) has implemented an exploratory course in Monroe County (Indiana) Community Schools in Spanish and French. Nearly all the units in these two languages follow the same format including mini-dialogues, a vocabulary list, suggested activities, cultural notes, a bibliography for the teacher, some test items, and visuals. Little grammar was emphasized; no grades were assigned; and there was little written work.

Mini-courses following Level Two

As Fearing and Grittner (45) point out, nearly all exploratory programs appear prior to the senior high regular sequences and are therefore generally middle school programs. While many high schools continue to prefer to offer the usual sequential Levels One and Two courses, the mini-course option following Level Two has gained in popularity. Lafayette (87) indicates that the preferred time to offer mini-courses is after Level Two since:

1 The first two levels provide a suitable support for future diversification;
2 A diversification at this level may increase enrollment figures;

3 Elective courses on a shorter basis compare to those offered in other disciplines;
4 They provide an option for advanced studies for students in small high schools unable to continue Level Three and Four courses (p. 2).

Quarter plan offerings

The Jefferson County High Schools in Louisville, Kentucky, offer an elective quarter plan, having restructured their school year into four segments (41, Ensminger, 42). Programs are available in French, German, Latin, Russian, and Spanish. A typical listing is as follows:

Foreign Language: French

F100	French for the Traveler
F101	Elementary Vocabulary and Speech Patterns
F102	Development of Vocabulary and Speech Patterns
F103	Vocabulary and Speech Patterns
F201	Basic Skills I
F202	Basic Skills II
F203	Basic Skills III
F301	Conversation and Composition
F302	Tour de France
F303	Reading for Pleasure
F304	Advanced Grammar
F319	French Study Abroad
F401	Survey of French Literature from "Chanson de Roland" through the Seventeenth Century
F403	France across the Centuries (41, p. 8)

Around-the-World Mini-course

Castillo (30) in Rock Hill, South Carolina, has developed a 45-day Quin-mester program mini-course entitled "Around the World in 45 Days." It is an introductory foreign language course to be implemented either at the junior high school level as an exploratory program or at the high school level as an exploratory course or an elective. The course offers the student the opportunity to hear many different foreign languages and to examine their cultures. There is no textbook; however, learning packets, movies from various consulates, filmstrips stressing cultural differences, records, songs, and games are made available.

Another broadening curricular direction for foreign languages has been the movement toward interdisciplinary programs. As Burrelli (28) points out, the profession has labored under a very narrow administrative idea of the nature of foreign language study–that is, a development of linguistic skills is pursued for the purpose of literary analysis. "Interdisciplinary studies deny this view of foreign language study" (p. 28). She reports success in increasing language enrollments through the implementation of an interdisciplinary program in Grades 7 to 12. The profession must look ahead to select developing new areas of interest for possible curricular implementation. One such suggestion comes from Garfinkel (54) who views the forthcoming conversion to the metric system as a chance to develop communicative competence and as an opportunity for interdisciplinary study cooperation with social studies, mathematics, home economics, industrial arts, and science teachers.

Interdisciplinary programs

Exploration in colleges and universities

Although colleges and universities seem to have been testing grounds for many experimental programs with regard to time factors, content, and location variables, "there may be some reaction at the college level against too much diversity in course offerings" (Disick, 36, p. 41). The basic struggle within college and university foreign language curricula today is between pragmatism and idealism (Tinsley, 155, p. 11). As Brod (22) points out in speaking of German studies in American colleges, many departments have moved toward diversification of their liberal arts tradition. He goes on to suggest, however, that there is no way of knowing if a resurgence of traditional studies will develop (p. 3). Tinsley (154) indicates that colleges and universities either must recognize the teaching of practical language skills as the legitimate and respectable concern of foreign language departments or resign themselves to teaching a few students who are interested in the language or who choose to study the foreign language as a major. Yet he sees the recovery of foreign language study as too hopeful for a premature obituary.

Idealism versus pragmatism

As areas of increased hope for foreign language development, Tinsley (155) cites the role of developing nations in the literature of science, technology, international trade, and literary masterpieces; the growing role of international organizations concerned with aid to developing nations; the exposure of the myth that little of importance is written in a language other than English; and a rise in bilingual education.

Academic versus community development

Foreign language departments do make a great distinction between academic and community development (Thomas, 153). Benseler (9) encourages foreign language departments to recognize that literature is only one component of the complex cultural milieu and to adjust the curriculum accordingly. An alternative proposal by Anderson (5) calls for a dual-track curriculum separating humanities-based courses and career courses. She points out that student enrollment in community colleges has not declined so much as in major colleges and universities because their curricula are more flexible.

Many foreign language educators feel a number of the more necessary changes needed are at the basic level of language instruction. Sammons (128) believes that full-time faculty should teach undergraduates. He sees the two basic irritants as the language requirement itself and the attempt to include everything we have always taught in the first few years of a requirement rather than trying to accomplish well what we can. He suggests that we relax a little on grammar and introduce a bit of literature, culture, and linguistics in order to open up the curriculum. For students to be encouraged at the introductory level, according to Ryder (127), we need to offer more "specialized, experimental, individualized, heterodox courses—oriented toward interest groups" (p. 7). He points out that in our panic over the reduction of requirements, we worry about whether we will teach students enough content in our limited amount of time. Zelson (166) concurs with the appraisal of this situation when he asks us to "make an effort to see whether our greatest difficulty in language programs has been that we have been working against time, and time has come out the winner" (166, p. 28).

Literature in translation

At advanced levels in colleges and universities the most common tendency has been to set up literature courses in translation in an attempt to garner more student enrollment. Stein (141) is not certain that many students are thus recruited into language programs. Additionally, he feels that the course in translation is an open invitation to the student not to learn the language. He suggests a general education in language and culture for one semester as an alternative to attract freshmen.

Hamilton (63) indicates that aside from comparative literature programs, little is happening in curricular experimentation in most French language and literature departments and suggests that undergraduate courses be offered on French society. Crant and Johnson (34) describe the development of multifaceted curricular changes in numerous areas of the French division at the University of South Carolina including business courses, culture courses, courses in translation, and tracking at the beginning level.

The three "I's"

3 "I's" of the future

Foreign language curriculum revision of a pragmatic nature is a new trend. Kalivoda (79) identifies three "I's" as directions for coming years in foreign language education: individualization, intensive programs, and interdisciplinary programs, with early levels being individualized and later levels dealing with interdisciplinary study (p. 119). As we have seen, many courses at the college level are individualized according to time, content, learning style, and location. Seaman (132) at Davis and Elkins College offers individualized beginning and intermediate courses and mini-courses with titles like "French Women." Pfister (120) offers a goal-directed program in German at the University of Maryland, in which by contracting for a goal, a student can move through a four-skill program including cultural awareness. The fourth semester is divided into various tracks including scientific German, history-political science, music-art, and literature.

Intensive programs offer universal opportunities for colleges and universities to increase their effectiveness (Benseler, 11; Kalivoda, 79). Interdisciplinary programs have been developed to a great degree in some institutions. Beck (7) reports on broad interdisciplinary courses in French and Spanish culture available to varied groups at Virginia Commonwealth University. The enrollment includes regular day students, evening school students, and continuing education students.

The three "C's"

3 "C's" of college curriculum

Implicit in the three "I's" for curricular development are three "C's" which have been influencing college and university curricula in the past year. They include:

1 Career-orientation courses including intern business courses in the language and courses in translating. These courses are for students not planning to become teachers or literary scholars.
2 Community-oriented programs involving travel courses and other courses geared for adults and continuing education students.
3 Culturally based courses as alternatives.

Brod (21) believes that career developments in college foreign language departments must be moved into three areas: information, public awareness, and curriculum. He points out that departments in urban communities have the possibilities for developing new markets if they can be convinced that there is no inherent conflict between their role as the inheritor of a humanistic discipline and their eventual new roles (p. 17). He suggests incorporating career interests into the content of conventional courses in language and culture.

International business

Many universities have developed new ventures in the area of international business. Purcell (123) describes an activity in which students enrolled in "Spanish for Business" created a Spanish-speaking company and assumed department-head roles. Using charts, graphs, and illustrations, they prepared reports on the growth of the company. The University of Cincinnati offers a four-year program leading to a certificate in Business Administration in addition to the B.A. degree in French, German, or Spanish (Gaeng, 52). Slessarev (138) points out that courses serving this certificate must be "more efficient and more practice-oriented" (p. 7).

Translation training

A number of institutions have moved toward offering courses or programs in translation, although "proper training in translating is at least as demanding and as extensive as the training necessary for a teaching career, and the opportunities for the present at least, are severely limited" (Brod, 21, p. 19). Translation programs exist in German at Queen's College (Nurdaugh,

114) and at Marygrove College in Detroit (Du Bruck, 39). Carnegie-Mellon University has a Translation Center, and plans are being made to work with the Association of Professional Translators to develop a certification system, internships, and a referral system as a clearing house between business and students (Silenieks, 137). Tinsley (156) encourages the profession to be mercenary about language skills for translation if it will require a substantial amount of time or skill and if the receiver will be using the translation to make money or for some material advantage. He suggests that if the client is unable to pay what the translation is worth, it could be done free of charge or at a reduced rate, but the client should be apprised of its value (p. 5). This attitude would make the community more aware of the value of language study. Donald Jarvis (71) describes a course in technical Russian which relies heavily on a Russian-to-English translation but which permits the students to read professional articles in their own field after 10 weeks. The second-semester course is a continuation of individualized techniques.

Technical Russian translation

Community-oriented programs include those directed toward the traveler or toward social needs requiring oral language proficiency in a community where the language is spoken. Military personnel also form a significant clientele. At Raymond Waters College in Cincinnati Baughin and Baughin (6) offer a course for travelers that will enable them to meet their basic needs in listening and speaking in France and which informs the student of practical and useful information about peoples and customs of France. Mee (98) at Delta College University Center in Michigan reports increasing enrollment and enthusiasm for language from students who are mainly doctors, lawyers, engineers, and their families, ranging in age from 16 to 89! Carton-Caprio (29) describes a series of lessons for developing practical French. (But the author suggests that if a restaurant lesson is taught, wine should not be served since very little French is used in that case!) At Bellevue Community College in Bellevue, Washington, Matkovick (97) describes FLAP (Foreign Language Alternative Programs), which provide students in the first year of study with a choice of emphasis on the four language skills and a choice of content, academic or vocational, in the second year. The academic programs involve material for journalists, foreign correspondents, radio and television announcers, film and theatre directors, and others. Vocational programs include office professions, early childhood education, nursing programs, and even ski instruction.

A consortium entitled "Eagle University" includes Western Kentucky University and offers French, German, and Spanish to military personnel who may be able to utilize it on tours abroad or overseas assignments (Brown, 23).

Perhaps the biggest impact these types of programs can have on the community is public relations. While they initially may not make a significant change in the curriculum, they may provide foreign languages with a positive impetus in the long run by helping to overcome many negative public feelings that foreign language teaching may have fostered through the years. All these developments must occur, not at the expense of literary values, but in addition to them.

New strategy for cultural conten

Teaching culture has many avid supporters in the college realm. Morain (102) suggests that the profession make dramatic changes at the college level for teaching cultural content. She describes a program at the University of Georgia in which 15 quarter hours of credit are awarded during nine months of study plus a summer in France. Her program, offered in modules, affords the student the confidence and competence for crosscultural understanding. The student most certainly returns to this country caring more for France. Nostrand (113) indicates that the basic problem is to identify cultural concepts worth teaching. He is chairing an AATF committee to make France (1955–75) into a model description of an interdisciplinary program. Nostrand's efforts and those of other foreign language educators have led to new programs in area studies in addition to the traditional literary major.

Area studies

Latin American Studies Programs, although often housed in political science departments, have existed for years, and area studies are now being offered in other languages. Bryant (24) recommends an alternative approach to the traditional B.A. major in French for French Area Studies majors. Siesicki (136) describes a program in which the major responsibility for administration lies in the Department of Western Languages at Colby-Sawyer College in New London, New Hampshire. In addition to basic preparation in communication and use of French in international commerce, there are stages involving language proficiency development, a foreign residence, and an internship in an area of major interest.

The University of Maine at Presque Isle stresses French culture in North America because many of the students are of Franco-American extraction and are beginning to see their heritage as an asset (Gallagher, 53).

German Area Studies in the College of St. Catherine in the Twin Cities offers a new major intended to serve as an undergraduate introduction to international commerce (Trendota, 159). Because Germans are preparing themselves for foreign-based operations on a new scale, they will probably be motivated to combine managerial forces with Americans who know German in order to further their competitive edge. This possibility could motivate American students in the study of German. Consequently, St. Catherine has 6 to 10 language courses such as "Executive German I and II," "Individual or Experimental Study," "Civilization," "German Literature of the 20th Century," and "German Drama Masterpieces."

Lohnes (94) at Stanford changed the traditional image of study from a pyramid with a Ph.D. as the apex to a broader shape of boxes and cubes. In 1970 he changed the name of the department from German to German Studies. There were four options: 1) language, 2) literature, 3) thought, and 4) German Studies. The first three options consisted of 45 quarter units beyond the first and second years, while the fourth option consisted of 25 units in the department and 25 in areas dealing with Central Europe. Buck (25) describes a new bachelor of arts degree in German Area Studies at the University of Washington-Seattle. Twenty-four hours of credits earned within one of five core groups are required for graduation. The five core groups are Art and Literature for the Modern Period, Art and Literature of the Older Period, History of Ideas, History and Sociology, and Linguistics.

Institute concept for redevelopment

The "institute" concept holds the most promise for redevelopment in college and university foreign language departments (Benseler, 9). Rather than maintaining present departmental boundaries, the institute would be housed in a Division of Foreign Studies with its own dean. Within the Division, an Institute of French Studies, Latin American Studies, and German Studies would be housed.

Exploration at the graduate level

One area that seldom receives attention in foreign language curricular studies is the graduate school. With so much exploration taking place at lower levels, however, the movement to provide some change has reached even to this level. Most recently three areas of curricular concern beyond the area of teacher education have received attention:

1 The foreign language requirement for graduate students
2 The Doctor of Arts degree (D.A.)
3 Graduate programs for a Master's degree in International Business

Graduate foreign language requirement

For many years the usual hurdle on the curricular racetrack for doctoral students has been the foreign language requirement. In some institutions the requirement has been a serious obstacle bemoaned by graduate students struggling to "get by" and hating every minute. In few cases has it been a pleasurable personal experience that provides the graduate student with necessary reading tools to perform research in his own area. In a study of changing programs in institutions of higher learning, the greatest number of changes reported at the graduate level in general requirements for the Ph.D. were related to the foreign language requirement. Twenty-two institutions liberalized the requirement (substituting a broader research tool such as the computer); Alaska and Michigan eliminated the requirement; six institutions reduced the requirement from two languages to one (32).

An alternative to a reading requirement

Benseler and Mazur (12) at Washington State University have described an intensive program for graduate students which provides them with the four basic skills of language: a sound basic vocabulary of 2,000 words; accomplishment of these goals in a comfortable setting; and a positive learning experience. Graduate students choose this as an alternative to the traditional path to fulfilling the language requirement. Students attend class eight hours per day, five days a week, for an eight-week period. Even in the graduate area of foreign language curriculum, the profession is exploring new avenues of alternatives.

The controversy concerning the D.A. degree has received attention during the last year. As Benseler (10) points out, the D.A. was originally advocated to meet an overdemand for college and university teachers as opposed to research scholars. Hardee (65) surveyed 200 foreign language departments in the southeastern United States to investigate the attitude toward a D.A. in foreign languages. The strongest appeal for the D.A. appeared to be in the two-year colleges. There was evidence that a great number of institutions desire candidates with a different type of orientation from the traditional Ph.D., with broader competence in more than one field and more teaching experience than at the beginning and intermediate levels. Seigneuret and Benseler (134) at Washington State University attempted to ascertain the feasibility of a course of study leading to the D.A. degree. They distributed a questionnaire to foreign language teachers in Washington and Idaho and another questionnaire to presidents of public and private colleges in two states and to the foreign language coordinators in Washington. They found that many foreign language teachers from high school and junior colleges would benefit from such a program but that an inverse scale of acceptance from institutions of higher learning appeared to exist—that is, larger institutions would hire a D.A. only as a last resort; and although there is a market among high school teachers, they do not need the degree to retain their positions.

Doctor of Arts Degree

Although resistance to the D.A. appears to be declining in other disciplines, opportunities for foreign language students are not developing at the D.A. level as expected. Benseler (10) advocates the D.A. as a degree for teachers at all levels of the foreign language curriculum and would want the recipient of the degree to be "a person who has culminated intensive advanced study in language, culture, civilization, literature, and pedagogy, as well as study abroad and an internship which will take the candidate into the classroom at various levels" (p. 4). However, Shaw (135) sees the two areas of research in linguistics and how to teach the foreign language as "new" fields, with the third area being literature. The "new" language fields have characteristically involved interdisciplinary studies, "an approach familiar enough to classicists but not hitherto applied in this country to modern languages and literatures" (p. 23).

D.A. for teachers of all levels

Graduate School Business Alliances

In the area of international business Merklein (99) describes a new program being developed at the University of Dallas Graduate School of Management awarding an M.B.A. in International Management. The University of South Carolina offers a degree program leading to a Master's degree in International Business involving a year of study abroad in an internship. This program began in the summer of 1974 in German and Spanish and has been expanded to include French and Portuguese in 1975 (Fryer, Enwall, and Moreno, 50; Jordan, 78).

Classics

A concensus among many educators seems to be that classics must be kept alive for the sake of their contributions toward understanding past cultures as well as our own. Luschnig (95) contends that it is necessary to be a representative of the Graeco-Roman tradition rather than simply a teacher of classical language or literature. He feels that the profession must continue to develop new courses and curricula. Lisle (92) feels that it is necessary to take a stand and refuse to measure classical civilization by modern standards.

Humanities approach

Fischer (48) believes that in two-year colleges a core of the great ideas and ideals must be planned because time restricts curricula. This "humanities approach" would provide opportunities to explore, analyze, synthesize, and communicate alongside the training for specialized skills" (p. 2). He feels that occupation-oriented students do not necessarily reject a humanities approach. In two-year institutions there are courses that deal with myth, fantasy, science fiction, folklore, and literature. Some offer classics in translation. The type of person needed to teach courses in a two-year program is one trained in humanistic ideals with crossdisciplinary and multimedia approaches. The classics must not be allowed to be cast aside, but may perhaps need an interdisciplinary approach and an upgrading of strategies and curricular arrangements to become more competitive.

At Germantown Academy the instructors "spice up" their traditional Latin program with comparisons to today's world, field trips, historical diversions, studies of architecture and painting (Handy, 64). Handy reports that these diversions along with some linguistics add interest at each level of his Latin program.

Strasheim (146) is working with materials both to enhance the Latin programs and to help in the recruitment of students. Not only have a series of mini-lessons been distributed to teachers, but also resource centers have been developed throughout the state of Indiana. Duchnowski (40) is working with developing materials for gifted children. She has produced "Alexander's Ragtime Band" in Latin for younger children to translate and moves into using excerpts from the classical works. Morse (106) has students produce a play in its original language. He feels this approach makes the book "alive, realistic, and relevant." Parks (118) of Kent State describes a program that is interdisciplinary in nature. The major may study related fields and have a broad base in classical studies.

Drama for the classics

Summary

1 Foreign language education has the potential to become a more central part of the overall future curriculum because the subject matter has a great deal to offer students who need to cope with a world of shocking change.

2 While literature remains and may continue to remain the center of the discipline, new areas of study are being included within the foreign language curricular framework.

3 The Bicentennial period offers unique possibilities for exposure of the foreign language curriculum to all students, faculty in other disciplines, and the public.

4 Within today's curriculum students are being given increasing opportunities to explore different content in foreign language acquisition and cultural awareness.

5 Students are exploring this new content in different time arrangements, through different learning styles, and in different locations.

6 Major trends in curricular decisions for the year have included exploratory programs; career education; mini-courses; interdisciplinary programs; intensive programs of language learning; compromises on full-scale individualized programs; international programs, particularly in

business; and community-oriented programs to meet the needs and interests of learners from preschoolers to golden agers.

7 Classics, oriented toward an interdisciplinary approach for years, show indications of new development.

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Free to communicate

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Introduction

> I communicate with the breath, smiles, tears of all my life. Everything I think, or say, or do communicates. I communicate with all the energy of my life. When I am happy, I communicate. When I am sorrowful, I communicate. All the time in between, I communicate. This is my existence. My whole life is communicating.
>
> And as long as I communicate, I exist. I am.
>
> Don Rogers

The problem

Ever since modern foreign language study entered the formal school curriculum as a teaching discipline, the ultimate goal of foreign language instruction has been to enable the student to interact–directly person to person, or indirectly through lit-

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erature–with the people of another culture. *But in Kennedy's* (55) words, "whereas up to half of the world's children may be fluent in two or more languages without any formal instruction, only a handful of those taught a foreign language in the classroom ever seem to reach a very high level of proficiency in that language regardless of the method of instruction" (p. 66).

Background

In spite of our long-standing ambition to teach the student to communicate in the target language, most foreign language teachers will agree with Rivers (87) that we have not yet reached this goal. The crucial question of how to develop communicative proficiency in a foreign language has still not been answered.

The interest in the concept of communicative competence is of relatively recent origin in the field of language teaching. It has gained momentum as a result of growing dissatisfaction with the accomplishments of the audiolingual method. Ironically, one of the professed major goals of audiolingualism is the ability to communicate with native speakers of the target language; however, adherence to a strict audiolingual methodology, with its emphasis on dialogue memorization and structural pattern drill, did not accomplish this desired goal. Our expectation that there would be automatic transfer from structural manipulations to communicative use of the language has not materialized.

> One of the most salient characteristics of real-life language use is the absence of a close and easily determined relationship between sheer linguistic ability–defined in such terms as accuracy of pronunciation, range of vocabulary, accuracy and extent of grammatical control, and so forth–and communicative proficiency–defined as the ability to get a message across to an interlocutor with a specified ease and effect (Clark, 20, pp. 118–19).

In the late 1960s many critics of the structural pattern drill as a major "training" device in language instruction spoke out against the artificiality of drill exercises and the lack of real communication activities in the classroom, emphasizing the need for differentiating between techniques for teaching linguistic competence (the ability to construct phonetically and grammatically correct sentences) and communicative competence (the ability to understand and make oneself understood in real-life situations) (Gaarder, 32; Newmark and Reíbel, 69; Palmer, 77; Paulston, 79).

Communication and communicative competence

Communicative competence has become the new rallying cry of the profession, and the concept is encountered more and more frequently in the professional literature under rubrics like "language fluency," "spontaneous self-expression," 'integrative skills use," "free expression," "transactional competence," "community language skills," and "functional bilingualism." Brown (12) defines communication as intra- and interpersonal interaction between humans where "the 'sender' hopes to arouse experiences of the 'receiver' similar to those of the 'sender' " for the purpose of establishing community (p. 9). Goyer (36) defines communication similarly as "to make common (to share) experience regardless of the nature of the experimental event or the method of its transmission or projection" (pp. 8–9). He goes on to list a sequence of five events that must occur to produce a communicative event. There must be "1) a generator of a 2) stimulus which is 3) projected to a 4) perceiver which 5) responds discriminatively (assigns meaning)" (pp. 8–9).

Communication

Applbaum et al. (3) point out that a model of communication must include a situational context and that factors such as physical setting, group purpose, social climate, group structure, leadership, norms and roles, and such personal communicator variables as attitudes, motives, values, personality, information and beliefs, intelligence, and demographic characteristics determine to a great extent the communicative process.

Communicative competence

Communicative competence is basically the ability to interact meaningfully with members of other cultures in the sense of the above definition. (*Competence* is not used here in the Chomskyan sense–the knowledge of language rules and the ability to differentiate between correct and incorrect utterances.) Savignon (92) calls communicative competence "the ability to function in a truly communicative setting–that is, in a dynamic exchange in which linguistic competence must adapt itself to the total informational input, both linguistic and paralinguistic, of one or more interlocutors" (p. 8). Communicative competence is a rich concept, not limited to a single language skill, language modality, style, or social register. Hymes (43), who coined the term *ethnography of speaking*, points out that communicative competence includes not only the knowledge of rules for understanding and producing referential meaning, but also the knowledge of the social rules of language use. He has created the acronym S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G to list the major components included in an analysis of verbal interaction. *S* stands for *setting* or *scene*, referring to the particular time, place, and physical setting of the communication act. *P* stands for *participants*, the sender(s) and receiver(s) of messages. *E* stands for *ends*, referring to the intended purposes the communicators have in mind when engaging in conversation. *A* stands for *act sequence*, referring to both form and content of the speech act and how they differ depending on setting and participants. *K* stands for *key*, referring to the mood or tone of the message, for example, serious, ironic, sarcastic. *I* stands for *instrumentation*, the specific language and dialect used in communication. *N* stands for *norms*, referring to the social rules of speaking, such as who can interrupt whom, what voice volume to use in a specific situation. *G* stands for *genres* or categories of speech acts such as greetings, farewells, jokes, phatic communications, questions, speeches, proverbs. Following Hymes' view, Paulston (80) goes so far as to say "communicative competence may simply be defined as tact and good manners" (p. 351).

Social rules of language use

Jakobovits (44) maintains that communicative competence includes control of three levels of meaning:

Three levels of meaning

1 Linguistic meaning (general lexical meaning of a word or expression, phonological actualization rules, syntactic relations and projection rules)
2 Implicit meaning (particular meaning conveyed by a situational context)
3 Implicative meaning (information conveyed by the speaker about himself, his socio-linguistic background, psychological state, intentions, etc.) (pp. 155–57).

Jakobovits and Gordon (45) emphasize that our objective of turning students into functional bilinguals must include making students bicultural.

Biculturalism

> Transactions between two individuals are made possible as a result of their sharing certain types of knowledge and certain types of inferential reasoning behavior. The shared knowledge includes a linguistic code, semantic structures, certain attitudes, rules of conversation and rules of the social and physicial order of things. The shared inferential reasoning behavior includes expectations of what leads to what under particular conditions (p. 5).

In their view, biculturalism is more important for effective communication than bilingualism.

Nonverbal communication

If we accept the above definitions of communicative competence, nonverbal communicative behavior becomes an important component. Lewis (59) has paraphrased Birdwhistell (8) in saying, "Man is a multisensorial being who occasionally verbalizes; the real language is behavior. Touch, tone of voice, facial expression, rate of speech, propinquity with colleagues, relaxation or tension in posture speak in clear tones" (p. 245). Applbaum et al. (3) cite research indicating that approximately 35 percent of meaning can be attributed to verbal messages, while 65 percent is due to nonverbal messages (p. 74). Mehrabian (66) estimates that seven percent of communication is accomplished with words only; 38 percent with tone and inflection; and 55 percent by facial expression, body position, and gestures. Communication specialists tend to agree that our emotional and motivational states are expressed predominantly on the nonverbal levels.

Applbaum et al. (3) list three areas of nonverbal message cues.

> 1 Body motion or kinesic behavior—gestures, various shifts and movements of the body, facial expressions, eye movement, and posture
> 2 Paralanguage or metacommunication—various voice qualities, laughing, smiling, and yawning
> 3 Proxemics—the effect of spatial factors on communicators (p. 74).

They also mention factors such as smell, touch, and manner of dress as nonverbal cues.

Kinesics

The study of nonverbal communication, particularly kinesics, is a relatively young field of anthropological and linguistic inquiry. Birdwhistell's pioneering work *Introduction to Kinesics* (8) appeared as recently as 1952. While the foreign language teaching profession realizes the importance of nonverbal language aspects (Green, 38), few language-specific materials which include information on these elements of communication are available to the student and teacher. Brault (10), Nostrand (73), and Tsoutsos (100) have made a beginning in classifying French gestures, and Green (37) and Kany (54) describe certain gestures of Spanish speakers. Niedzielski's *The Silent Language of France– French Culture Through French Gestures* (70) appears to be a first attempt to include kinesics in commercially available instructional materials.

Focus on meaning vs. form

Traditionally, teachers have focused on the surface form of language, either by overtly teaching phonetic or structural rules, or by leading the student through structural pattern drills in the hope that he would absorb the rules inductively through practice. Understanding the meaning of what was said was not a necessary prerequisite for such language manipulation (Hosenfeld, 42). In teaching for communicative competence, *meaning* (what is being said) becomes the focal point of attention and *form* (how, linguistically, it is being said) becomes secondary.

Organization of chapter

The next part of this chapter is a summary of recent findings and theories that are pertinent to the question of how to develop communicative competence; the third part is a review of published and teacher-made materials that suggest specific classroom activities. In the fourth section we deal with testing communicative competence, and in the final part we suggest some directions for future research and materials development.

Communicative competence: Theory and research

Comparing first and second language learning

How is a second language learned? What are the mental processes involved in acquiring communicative competence in a foreign language? What are the necessary conditions for learning to communicate? Empirical knowledge that might shed light on these questions is scant. We depend almost exclusively on hypotheses and inferences drawn from the sparse knowledge we have about native language learning. While Carroll (18) states that "there is increasing evidence that processes of first and second language acquisition are not radically different" (p. 128), the classroom teacher is aware of the fundamental differences between native language learning and foreign language learning in a formal school setting. Jakobovits explains this difference: "The school is a special nonordinary, artificial setting, and language learning in the classroom remains a special, nonordinary artificial exercise. It lacks authenticity" (Savignon, 92, p. 2). Kennedy (55) summarizes the state of affairs by stating that "it is not learning second languages which is difficult, but learning them in classrooms" (p. 77).

Both transformational-generative theory and structuralist-behaviorist theory accept the hypothesis of similarity in first and second language learning. An examination of several aspects of native language acquisition raises certain questions, however, about their relevance for the second language learner in a formal school setting.

LAD

Chomsky (19) hypothesizes a Language Acquisition Device (LAD) that operates in native language learning and contains, among others, the following components:

> A theory of semantic and phonetic representation
> A concept of syntactic description
> A specification of the class of potential grammars and an account of how these function
> An evaluation procedure—a weighting function—to select the appropriate grammar from the various possible ones (Burke, 14, pp. 54–55)

Burke lists the following considerations in support of the hypothesis of a species-specific innate language acquisition device:

> . . . the apparent complexity of language and language competence, the evidence of linguistic universals, the universality of the acquisition process, the time-tabled, progressive yet effortless nature of acquisition, the speed with which language is mastered, the relationship between maturation and

> language development, the anatomical and physiological evidence, the irrelevance of the motivational and emotional states, and the level of intelligence of the learner, the irrelevance also of the nature or quality of the language input, the indication that the task of language learning is beyond the capabilities of the intelligent ape (p. 5).

The question at hand is whether this LAD is still operational for the adolescent or adult when he attempts his study of a second language. Both Lenneberg (58) and Marler (64) hypothesize that native language acquisition is tied directly to maturational development and that the ability to induce language patterns from primary linguistic data might decline rapidly after puberty.

First- vs. second-language learning

However, if Carroll's contention of similarity between native and second language acquisition processes holds true, the problem then becomes one of maximizing the congruence of first and second language learning conditions. Cook (21) and Kennedy (55) point out several incongruencies between learning conditions in the foreign language classroom and native language learning conditions, and they conjecture that our methodologies might actually hinder the learner's capacity for second language acquisition. For instance, while the native language learner is immersed in the full grammatical and lexical range of adult speech, including incomplete sentences, hesitations, and false starts, the foreign language learner is exposed only to carefully sequenced and graded samples of the language. Another difference lies in the amount of time spent learning a first and a second language: Language learning is a full-time occupation for the child. A further dissimilarity lies in the developmental nature of language acquisition. While the native language learner is permitted to make errors, form his own interim grammars, and do his own hypothesis testing (a process that leads him through several developmental grammars until he reaches adult competence in the language), the second language learner is expected to perform immediately at the adult level of grammatical correctness. Errors are to be eradicated immediately. While practice and imitation are considered the main "devices" for second language learning, McNeill (65) states that neither practice nor imitation seem to play an im-

Immersion vs. grading

Role of imitation and practice

portant part in native language learning. Kennedy (55) believes that "exposure to the language being used in communicative situations would seem to be at least as important as overt practice" (p. 72). Also, while it seems to be true that no "formal" instruction is taking place in first language learning, certain informal, often subconsciously used language strategies in the adult-child relationship might influence language development. For instance, the imitation-reduction and imitation-expansion processes reported by Brown and Bellugi (13) are such strategies that might contribute to language development. Adults often speak more slowly and clearly when speaking to children, and Moerk (68) has shown that mothers subconsciously adjust the length of their utterances to the linguistic maturity of their offspring. Brown and Bellugi (13) point out that incorrect statements of first language learners are as frequently rewarded as correct statements and that the content (meaning) is more important than the form of the utterance as far as eliciting negative or positive responses from parents.

Importance of meaning

Foreign language educators and psycholinguists (Gaarder, 32; Jakobovits, 44; Jakobovits and Gordon, 45; Newmark and Reibel, 69; Oller, 75; Spolsky, 96, 97) generally agree on one condition that is necessary for the development of communicative competence. They maintain that language is best learned in live meaningful situational contexts that fulfill communicative needs of the learner. Carroll (18) supports this contention by stating: "The general principle would be that a meaning that is richly endowed with concrete situational content is more likely to be learned and attached to the corresponding sound pattern than one that is abstract or endowed with little situational content" (p. 136). Research on retention and memory indicates that meaningfulness facilitates learning and retention (Underwood, 101). Jakobovits and Gordon (45), Newmark and Reibel (69), and Oller (75) conjecture that a sequence of lessons based on common meaningful situations may be superior to a series of lessons based on sequentially arranged grammatical structures.

Situational vs. grammatical structuring

Empirical research findings

Some empirical evidence supports the contention that language practice that emphasizes meaning with situational referents is superior to discrete-point manipulative practice in fostering communicative competence and language learning in general.

Brière (11) reports a study in which Lee attempted to measure physiologically whether different language exercises bring about more or less learning. Lee (working on the assumption that structural and phonemic-discrimination drills are not true language behavior and produce boredom, lack of motivation, and little learning among students) measured the heart rate of ten women and eight men in an ESL course at seven different points in time, both during normal conversation and during pattern practice. He found the expected peaks of arousal in normal conversation, but measurement during pattern practice showed very little arousal in heart rate. Because some physiological arousal is necessary for learning to occur, he concluded that no learning was taking place during pattern-drill activities.

Importance of meaning

Oller and Obrecht (74) report experimental results that indicate "language skills learned through pattern drill are made more readily available to the student for communicative purposes if those drills are deliberately related to meaningful communicative activity during the teaching-learning process" (p. 166). One group of ten high school students of first-year French were led through traditional repetition and substitution drill with only one translation of the items to focus on meaning. Another group of ten similar students was given identical exercises, but they were told the English meanings twice, once before hearing the Spanish sentences and once more during the drill. In addition, meaning was emphasized by drawings representing the objects referred to in the sentences, and the drills were followed by question and directed-dialogue exercises. In their discussion of the results, which decidedly favor the treatment group where meaning was emphasized, the authors conclude "if faked situations (such as those utilized in the experimental treatment) can create a percentage of difference as large as that indicated by the data, real communication is likely to prove still more effective" (p. 172).

Generic vs. particularized meaning

Jarvis and Hatfield (47) compared the effects of two treatments: One was defined as a "drill" treatment involving manipulative language practice with generic meaning only, and the other was defined as a "contextual" treatment utilizing language practice with particularized referents of the concepts involved. The essential characteristic of the "contextual" treatment was that students were asked to "tell the truth"–to refer to the actual state of affairs in the environment, while students in the "drill" treatment were asked for cued responses. The study utilized 14 classes of first-semester college French students (N=292) taught by seven instructors, each instructor teaching a "drill" and a "contextual" class. Results indicated highly significant findings (p<.01) favoring the "contextual" treatment in the productive skills.

Training for communicative competence

Savignon (92) compared the effect of three treatments on tests of linguistic and communicative competence and attitude measures utilizing three beginning college French classes (N=42) taught by two different instructors and the experimenter in a semester-long study. Of the three groups involved in the study, regular instruction for Experimental Group I was supplemented by a 50-minute weekly session devoted to the training and performing of specific communicative acts (for example, greetings, asking for directions, making a date). Instruction for Experimental Group II was supplemented by a weekly period devoted to films or discussions in English of current political, social, and cultural topics about France. Instruction for the control group was supplemented by a weekly period in the language laboratory practicing basic course material. Results indicate that the "communicative skills" group performed significantly better (p<.001) on tests of communicative competence constructed by the experimenter. There were no significant differences on standardized tests of linguistic competence in the receptive skills or on the course examination or final grades. The study demonstrates that communicative competence can indeed be improved by specific activities designed for its development.

Meaningful vs. communicative practice

Joiner (50), following Paulston (79), distinguished between meaningful and communicative practice, stipulating that true communication occurs only when new information is transmitted between two communicators. She conducted an experimental study involving six beginning college French classes (N=54) and three instructors. The experimental treatment contrasted communicative practice (mainly question–answer practice involving the transmission of new information) with pattern-drill practice and question–answer practice where no real information was exchanged. Students in the communicative treatment had significantly higher scores on an oral test of communicative proficiency than did the students in the noncommunicative treatment. The treatments did not significantly affect attitude or scores on other language skills.

Total physical response

Asher (4) and Asher et al. (5) report research findings on experiments using the total-physical-response method as a training technique for listening comprehension, where the student is directed orally to perform physically a sequence of acts. While the findings, which favor total-physical-response exercises in language learning, are mainly interpreted to support a delay in oral practice at the beginning of second language learning, they could also imply that the students are superior because the activities force them to process language meaning by acting out the given directions.

Control of receptive skills

Ervin-Tripp (31) and Postovsky (81) have conducted research similar to that of Asher et al. that indicates that it might be beneficial to let second language learners concentrate exclusively on the listening skill before requiring them to produce language orally.

Linguistic and communicative competence

The relationship between linguistic and communicative competence has been examined. Carroll (16) correlated scores of 127 participants of NDEA Institutes on the FSI interview as a measure of communicative proficiency with scores on the four skill tests of the *MLA Proficiency Test for Teachers and Advanced Students*. He obtained correlations ranging from .58 to .86.

Clark (20) reports findings of an unpublished study where he correlated FSI scores of 44 Peace Corps trainees with a series of discrete-point tests on vocabulary and grammar. Correlation coefficients ranged from .82 to .92.

Bartz and Schulz examined student performance on linguistic and communicative tests in listening comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing utilizing researcher-constructed instruments in German and French respectively. Correlations showed a positive significant relationship between communicative and linguistic competence on all skill tests; correlation coefficients ranged from a .31 for listening comprehension to .74 on the total instrument (Schulz, 93), thus implying that while linguistic and communicative competence are related, we are nevertheless dealing with different constructs. Bartz (6) reports that the total linguistic competence score accounts for only 44 percent of the variance in the total communicative competence score and that the instruments measuring communicative competence measured dimensions of foreign language learning that are not accounted for by linguistic competence tests.

Learner factors affecting the development of communicative competence

The move toward individualizing instruction has spurred research into learner characteristics and how learner differences affect learning. Such factors as IQ, aptitude, cognitive styles, perceptual styles, learning sets, modality preferences, and personality and motivational variables are being researched in relationship to foreign language learning. Hosenfeld (42), Niedzielski (71), and Reinert (85) are presently engaged in research projects dealing with learner factors. Hosenfeld summarizes the state of the field in Chapter 5 of this volume.

Rubin (91) states that in addition to aptitude, motivation and opportunity—generally stipulated as the three variables that determine foreign language learning—there might be special learning strategies that facilitate the development of communicative competence. She lists several helpful cognitive strategies:

Cognitive strategies

> 1 The good language learner may be a good guesser. . . . He may listen to a phrase, pick out the words he understands and infer the rest.
> 2 He is often willing to appear foolish in order to communicate and get his message across.
> 3 He will try out his knowledge by making up new sentences, thus bringing his newly acquired competence into use (p. 43).

Rubin further states that "the good language learner has a strong drive to communicate or to learn from communication. He is willing to do many things to get his message across," including using circumlocutions, paraphrases, gestures, cognates, spelling, or formation of new words when he is not understood (p. 46). Also, "the good learner is constantly looking for patterns in the language . . . constantly analyzing, categorizing, synthesizing," and he "will seek out opportunities to use the language. . . . He initiates conversations with the teacher or his fellow students in the target language" (p. 47). He monitors his own speech and the speech of others, and he attends to meaning and not just to the grammatical or surface forms of speech, getting his cues from the context of the speech act, the relationship of the participants, the rules of speaking, the mood of the speech act. Rubin points out that learning strategies will vary with the task, the learning stage, the age of the learner, the context, individual styles, and cultural differences in cognitive learning styles (pp. 48–49).

Learner factors

Bartz (6) conducted a study involving four levels of high school German students to examine relationships between factors such as foreign language aptitude, sex, years of study, age, and personality traits with the development of communicative competence. Aptitude, especially the verbal and interest score on the *Pimsleur Language Aptitude Battery*, correlated highly with communicative competence, while the auditory component and grade-point average showed no significant relationships. Years of German study and age of student related strongly with communicative competence; surprisingly, there were no significant relationships between these two factors and linguistic competence. Personality factors measured by the *16 Personality Factor Questionnaire* and the *Torrance Test of Creative Thinking* that showed some positive relationship to the ability to communicate orally were introversion, soberness, and self-sufficiency; while on the written communicative competence test imagination, placidness, and low anxiety related positively. Creativity showed a moderate relationship with the communicative competence scores on the productive skills. Sex showed no significant relationship. Positive attitudes toward the study of German did show a significant relationship with communicative competence. However, attitude toward Germany and German-speaking people did not relate significantly.

Attitudes toward target culture

This last finding corroborated Savignon's (92) findings that attitude toward France and French-speaking peoples did not significantly affect the development of communicative competence. A study by Gardner and Lambert (33) reports highly significant relationships between language learning and attitudes toward the target-language culture, but it must be pointed out that the Canadian quasi-bilingual community of the Gardner and Lambert study differed markedly from the setting in both the Savignon and Bartz studies. In a monolingual community without direct contact with target-language speakers and the target culture, attitudes toward the group whose language the student is learning might not be so important as the Canadian study indicates.

Kennedy (55), citing Lambert et al. as support, indicates that if the learner feels negatively toward the target language culture, "he is not likely to learn the language however much practice he does" (p. 77). Macnamara (63), however, citing historical language shifts (for example, the use of English by the Irish or Scots or the use of French by the people of Provence), which have been accompanied by antipathy rather than favorable attitudes, believes that positive attitudes toward the target-language culture are not a necessary condition for language learning. One could also mention as support for Macnamara's view the Army Special Training Programs during World War II where hundreds of people became amazingly fluent in German and Japanese in a short time without (presumably) feeling favorably inclined toward the people whose language they were learning.

Motivation to use language

However, motivation to learn and use the language appears to be at least as important a condition for developing communicative competence as is the provision of meaningful situational contexts for learning. As Kennedy (55) points out, in native-language learning, language serves immediately and exclusively a communicative function. "The language he [the child] acquires is a sign of his membership and participation in his community. His very identity and status as an individual are defined in part through the speech community" (p. 70). The second language learner, already having a social and linguistic identity, lacks this intense motivation. Language study in a formal school setting is an optional activity. Neither the student's physical, nor spiritual, nor emotional survival depend directly on his second language proficiency. Corder (24) and Macnamara (63) postulate the essential difference between first and second language learning to be motivation. In Corder's words, "given motivation, it is inevitable that a human being will learn a second language if he is exposed to the language data" (p. 164). Unfortunately, in the classroom situation a student very seldom has anything urgent enough to say that would force him to improvise and use all communicative skills at his command to make himself understood. Cooper (22) summarizes the methodological implications of the motivation factor in second language learning by stating, "If we want to enable to [sic] student to use English [ESL], then we must put him in situations which demand the use of English" (p. 313).

Teacher factors

Rather than investigating learning styles of students, de Garcia et al. (26) are inquiring into teaching styles that might facilitate the development of communicative competence. They have devised a *Foreign Language Attitude Survey*, intended for teachers and prospective teachers, which categorizes the pedagogical approach of the teacher as traditional, audiolingual, or communicative.

Error analysis and error correction

No discussion of the development of communicative competence would be complete without considering error analysis. Valdman discusses the field in detail in Chapter 7 of this volume. Therefore, in this section we simply summarize pertinent findings, theories, and possible implications for the classroom teacher.

Imitation vs. hypothesis testing

While the audiolingual habit-formation theory posits imitation as a major language-learning device, we know that first-language learners do not simply imitate adult speech; they systematically simplify it, creating their own rules. Only through a lengthy hypothesis-testing process with available language data (rather than through formal correction or instruction) does the learner come to approximate adult competence in the language.

Contrastive analysis is based on the assumption that the majority of second language errors is due to interference (negative transfer) from the mother tongue. While this might be true of pronunciation errors (Burt, 15), recent research indicates that second language learner errors can be classified into several categories. Selinker (94, 95, 96) hypothesizes that five processes would cause error and fossilization:

Types of errors

1 Language transfer (interference)
2 Transfer of training (pedagogical procedures)

3 Strategies of communication
4 Strategies of learning
5 Reorganization of linguistic materials (overgeneralization of target language rules)

Dulay and Burt (28), classifying 513 unambiguous errors of 179 Spanish-speaking ESL learners (ages five to eight), list three types of errors:

1 Developmental (errors similar to those made in native language acquisition)
2 Interference (errors reflecting native language structure)
3 Unique (errors due to factors other than development or interference)

Dulay and Burt found that only 4.7 percent of the errors can be attributed to interference, while 87.1 percent of the errors "reflected the same developmental structures used by children learning English as a first language" (p. 132). Several other studies (for example Ervin-Tripp, 31; Ravem, 84; and others summarized in Dulay and Burt, 28) report similar data with children of different native language backgrounds. Most of these studies were conducted with children in natural language-learning environments or immersion programs, rather than with children who acquired a second language in a conventional classroom situation. Furthermore, most studies deal with preadolescent children rather than with adolescents or adults who make up the majority of second language learners in conventional classroom instruction in the United States. As Andersson (2) maintains, we do not have conclusive evidence that adult language learning is identical to native language learning. The difference in age and natural motivation factors (that is, being forced to speak the language to fulfill personal needs) cannot be disregarded totally.

Powell (82) analyzed speech samples collected in individual oral interviews of 223 native American high school students at the end of their second year of French study. She attributes student errors to three major sources:

1 Interlingual interference
2 Intralingual interference (overgeneralization based on second language data)
3 Reduction

According to her findings, the greatest number of errors seemed due to reduction; moreover, interference from English played a considerably larger role than did interference from French. In addition, she maintains that some errors might be the result of pedagogical strategies (such as confusion between definite and indefinite noun markers or confusion between *avoir* and *être* in the formation of the perfect tense).

Errors as necessary for language learning

Researchers of the native language learning process and an increasing number of investigators into second language learning have concluded that "making errors is a necessary condition in the learning process" (Dulay and Burt, 28, p. 135) and that errors do not indicate faulty learning or need for intensive correction and remediation. This theory, however, does not account for the fossilization phenomena in the language development of many second language speakers mentioned by Selinker (94), where regardless of exposure to the language or instructional procedure the learner does not continue the hypothesis-testing process toward native approximation of a structure but becomes, so to speak, "mentally arrested" in the developmental process.

Corder (24) maintains that errors should be seen as a positive sign that learning is taking place. He sees errors as having a threefold significance:

1 They tell the teacher how far the student has progressed and what he must yet learn.
2 They give clues to the researcher on how language is learned and what strategies the learner uses to "discover" the language.
3 "They are indispensable to the learner himself, because we can regard the making of errors as a device the learner uses in order to learn" (p. 167).

Pedagogical implications of error analysis

What then might be some pedagogical implications of second language error analysis? Rivers (86) recommended in 1964 that

> . . . in the audiolingual method, the student . . . must not, as the infant does, experiment with new combinations and analogies, some accurate and some inaccurate. Instead he must be induced to produce the right response by the teacher's careful arrangement of the circumstances of responses. His

> mistakes are not "cute" but dangerous, in that they represent decremental, *not* incremental, learning (p. 102).

Recent research indicates, however, that errors are an integral part of the native language learning process and that the second language learner might benefit from being permitted to formulate and test his own grammatical hypotheses, rather than having his errors "extinguished" immediately by overt correction. "Like the child acquiring the first language, the second language learner makes errors that document his active participation in the process of language learning" (Hanzeli, 39, p. 8).

Ervin-Tripp (30) maintains that we need to pay attention to selective processing by the learner rather than totally depend on teacher input in the second language learning process.

Selective correction

Dulay and Burt (28) suggest less explicit teaching of syntax. Burt (15), Hanzeli (39), and Powell (82) propose that we differentiate between errors that cause miscommunication and those that do not and that we emphasize only the former in correction. Specifically, Burt (28) distinguishes between "global errors," which significantly hinder communication (for example, wrong word order, missing, wrong or misplaced sentence connectors, missing cues to signal obligatory exceptions to pervasive syntactic rules, overgeneralizing pervasive syntactic rules to exceptions), and "local errors," which affect sentence elements only and do not interfere with meaning (for example, errors in noun and verb inflections, articles, auxiliaries, and the formation of quantifiers) (p. 57).

Structural immersion

Noblitt (72) points to a basic dilemma in developing communicative competence in a classroom setting by stating that to produce a meaningful language item, the student needs to control the system and to know the system; he needs the item. Together with Burt (15), he conjectures that a concentrated rapid introduction to a large range of structures at the beginning of instruction might be more conducive to developing communicative competence than the lengthy graded sequential teaching of structures as it is now practiced. Such an approach would expose the learner to the structural system at the beginning of the course; he could then be led through communicative exercises to formulate and test his own interim grammars in a manner similar to that of the native language learner.

Hanzeli (39) states that a possible reordering of learning sequences "may even involve the teaching at some point of stylistically incorrect forms that fit the known learning strategies of students" (p. 11).

Powell (82) concludes from her study that our expectations of grammatical control are unrealistic because too few students reach the mastery level expected. She supports Belasco (7) in suggesting that it would be more practical to teach the majority of grammatical structures for passive recognition only and to concentrate on a limited number of structures for active use.

Error correction

Holley and King (41), hypothesizing that "student communication in the foreign language may be actively discouraged by the instructor who insists upon grammatical accuracy" (p. 494), videotaped microteaching sessions of German practice teachers to investigate the effect of several error-correction methods on communicative performance in an instructional setting. They found that direct and overt correction tends to confuse the student, generally discourages him from expressing himself in the target language, allows class time to be monopolized by the teacher, and encourages explanations without follow-up and frequent lapses into English. When the practice teachers provided more time for student responses and used techniques of rephrasing (reduction or expansion of utterances with emphasis on content), cuing (prompting) and generating simple sentences, as well as generally rewarding successful exchange of ideas regardless of grammatical correctness, there was greater participation and interaction between students. In the majority of instances "students were able to identify correct usage by the teacher although they were unable to actually produce these forms themselves" (p. 498). The authors conclude that "stringent demands for grammatical accuracy are not only unrealistic but possibly harmful in learning a second language" (p. 498).

Pedagogical implications

Need for situational realism

Teaching the traditional "ingredients" of foreign language instruction–phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon–is not sufficient to develop students' communicative competence. An important task of the teacher is to create and provide authentic, meaningful situations in which real communication can take place and which motivate the student to express himself in the target language. The learning process must be based on genuine speech acts, and this requires a language-teaching situation in which real situations stimulate verbal interaction with maximum redundancy (Hanzeli, 39). Nonverbal elements, such as gestures, movements, facial expression, visuals, realia, must fully support the meaning of the verbal elements.

Few would argue against language exposure and more freedom for creative and self-corrective language learning. Nevertheless, a series of carefully controlled experiments with second language learners in conventional classroom instruction is needed before we can justify totally replacing currently prevailing instructional methods based on sequential ordering of syntactic structures by situational ordering or exposing the learner to a "language bath" of structures and then letting him develop his own generative rules (Ravem, 84).

Allen (1) points out that if communicative competence is a major goal, teachers must tolerate some deviation from standard phonetic and grammatical correctness. However, to what extent selective correction or noncorrection would affect the acquisition of grammatical rules must be determined by further research.

Need for linguistic and communicative activities

A synthesis of today's thinking does not lead to a conclusion that it is necessary (or advisable) to eliminate all manipulative exercises, grammatical explanations, or correction from formal instruction. As Rivers (87, 88, 89) illustrates in her model of language teaching, learning entails "skill-getting" activities (production or pseudocommunication exercises) and "skill-using" activities (communicative interaction). Some knowledge of linguistic facts is basic to the ability to communicate, and this acquisition of "knowledge" can be accomplished effectively by pseudocommunication exercises in the "skill-getting" stage but must include "skill-using" activities from the beginning. Valdman (103) also maintains that we need "preparatory activities" —practice activities to acquire knowledge about the language— and display sessions—activities for synthesizing the learned material in simulated natural use of language.

In summary, the classroom teacher needs to institute a progression from artificial exercises to real language use, from discrete linguistic objectives to communicative objectives, and from discrete-point tests to tests of communicative competence.

Objectives and activities for the teaching of communication

Commercially available materials

How do commercial instructional materials reflect our goal of developing communicative competence? Lado (56) states that the shift from an emphasis on reading skill to "spoken communication" during the audiolingual period of the 1960s was reflected in instructional materials. According to Lado, a text should include:

1 Basic conversational sentences for memorization
2 Structural notes to help the student perceive and produce the stream of speech and sentence patterns of the foreign language
3 Pattern-practice exercises to establish the patterns as habits
4 Laboratory materials for oral-aural practice out of class
5 Opportunity for use of the language in communication rather than in translation (p. 6)

Materials developed during this era show that much emphasis was put upon the first four items listed above. Item 5, "opportunity for use of the language in communication rather than in translation, was given very little attention or was left for the teacher to implement. In fact, teachers were often led to believe that if their students were capable of memorizing dialogues and reciting pattern drills, the student would have the ability to communicate in the foreign language. Today we realize, however, that the student must be given the opportunity to practice communication in class to achieve the ability to communicate in the foreign language.

Inadequacy of recent materials

Most instructional materials developed in the past 10 to 15 years do not provide for sufficient activities to allow the student to become involved in anything other than drill and memorization in the first stages of language learning; sometimes the manipulative phase extends into advanced levels. Textbooks present sequential arrangements of syntactic principles rather than situationally cohesive materials.

Individualized materials

The relatively recent development of programmed instruction and the movement toward individualizing programs and materials has also put the emphasis on drill and acquisition of discrete linguistic skills in foreign language learning. Samples of Learning Activity Packets (LAPs) include scores of behavioral objectives that emphasize only the acquisition of discrete linguistic knowledge and skills. One recently published "learning guide" exemplifies this point. The following general goal statement is made at the beginning of the learning guide: "By using this learning guide and your text you will learn to speak as a German-speaking person does about your teacher . . ." (Brairton, 9, p. 6, Appendix F). This general goal for the unit is certainly a "communicative goal" and gives the student the message that upon completion of the unit he will be able to carry out a communicative act. Following this general unit goal is a list of nine performance objectives specifying related activities the student is to complete to achieve the unit goal. However, the activities in which the student is to engage require him only to memorize, read, and write dialogue lines and drills correctly.

It is difficult to see how the proposed learning steps could possibly accomplish the specified goal. The problem here, as in many instances, is in the assumption that the successful completion of manipulative and discrete exercises such as dialogue memorization and pattern drilling will *automatically* produce communicative ability. When students discover that this is not so, they become disillusioned with their study of the foreign language. "*Bridging the gap* between skill-getting and skill-using is not automatic. Skill-getting activities must be so designed as to be already pseudo-communication, thus leading naturally into spontaneous activities" (Rivers, et al., p. 5).

"Skill-getting" to "skill-using"

Although many individualized materials follow a pattern similar to that illustrated above, educators today seem to feel more emphasis should be put on objectives and activities that will achieve communicative ability. The late Florence Steiner (98) points to the problem:

> . . . one must admit that we have learned more about how to get a student to repeat than how to inspire him to initiate. We now know more about how to provoke him to memorize dialogues than we do about how to teach him to generate speech. . . . The fact is that we teachers have seldom confronted the art of speaking and conversing directly (p. 72).

Steiner attempts to structure conversational skills through performance objectives and proposes the following skills as necessary for some degree of fluency in the foreign language: answering (either questions or statements), combining ideas (supportive, contrastive, or provocative), restating ideas, questioning, commenting, initiating, presenting, and interacting. She maintains, however, that most of these skills should not be included until the advanced levels.

Valdman (103) criticizes Steiner's approach because she does not clarify the distinction between what he calls "preparatory activities" and "the content of display session." "If the latter is intended, then a performance objective such as:

> *Objective 8* The student will make four statements about the weather and his plans for the day. He will use the verb *aller* and the market place and the beach (Steiner, 98, p. 78)

is totally inappropriate as a description of the use of language for natural communication" (Valdman, 103, pp. 11–12).

Objectives for communication

Disick (27) believes that "ideally, the performance objectives, even those for the early phases of language learning should be written at Stage 4: *communication* behavior level" (p. 49). Stage 4 of Disick's cognitive taxonomy is defined as follows: "Students use the language creatively either to understand new information or to express their own ideas. The material to be comprehended may contain unfamiliar linguistic elements. Student responses are not entirely predictable. Some performance at this stage should be a goal of all foreign-language courses" (p. 43).

A curriculum of communicative interaction

Jakobovits and Gordon (45) suggest that the curriculum be centered around communicative interaction ("transactions") in which the emphasis is put on personal communicative transactions such as:

Lesson 1: Greeting and leave taking
Lesson 2: Making requests, Part I
Lesson 3: Making requests, Part II
Lesson 4: Extending invitations
Lesson 5: Making apologies, etc. (p. 67).

Need for communicative situations

Similarly, Rivers et al. (89) point out that "the student needs situations where he is on his own (that is, not supported by teacher or structural exercise), trying to use the foreign language to exchange with others messages of real interest to him. Yet he cannot send students off in groups or pairs and tell them to interact. *Motivation to communicate* must be aroused in some way" (p. 44). She continues by suggesting activities under a series of interactional contexts:

Interactional contexts

1 Establishing and maintaining social relations
2 Expressing one's reaction
3 Hiding one's intentions
4 Talking one's way out of trouble
5 Seeking and giving information
6 Learning or teaching others to do or make something
7 Conversing over the telephone
8 Solving problems
9 Discussing ideas
10 Playing with language
11 Acting out social roles
12 Entertaining others
13 Displaying one's achievement
14 Sharing leisure activities (p. 44).

Specific activities under each of these "interactional contexts" are suggested. For example, under "acting out social roles," Rivers et al. list the following dramatic possibilities:

1 The job interview with a timid (or overconfident) applicant
2 The overbearing bureaucrat and the applicant for a visa extension
3 The *Wirtin* trying to find out all about the reticent new *Mieter* on the fourth floor
4 The hippie son asking his very proper father for money
5 The cocktail party at the Deutsche Botschaft . . .
6 Situations based on proverbs
7 Well-known political figures or characters in films or television programs . . . in familiar situations (pp. 51–52)

Community language skills

Gougher (34) suggests that mini-courses be developed based on needed community language skills such as communicative competence for barbers, mechanics, secretaries, health services. Materials for this goal are currently being developed in the Dade County Public Schools in Florida under an ESEA Title III project (Vega, 105).

In a program developed by Logan (61), classes are divided into groups headed by a student leader who possesses a guide for the directed conversation that is to take place in his group. The leader also assigns roles and generally guides the conversational activity. The students involved in the conversation are given explicit instructions on what to say in 32 communicative situations. An example from Logan (61) follows:

> *Wir Essen in Deutschland* [We Eat in Germany]
> Student #1: Asks what time it is.
> Student #2: Says it is 12 o'clock and asks why.
> Student #1: Says he's hungry and asks where a restaurant is.
> Student #2: Says he knows. Then says look, over there is a restaurant, etc. (p. 63).

Other exercises cover topics such as greetings, getting up, shopping, the market place. Each conversational exercise is structured with at least two or three levels of difficulty, allowing the grouping of students according to their levels of proficiency.

These exercises, which are highly structured and force the student to make specific utterances, can be considered as a variation of the commonly used directed dialogue with directions of what to say given in English.

Guided conversations and compositions

A slight variation to this in which the student is given a little more freedom to express himself can be found in a recently published text (Helbling, et al., 40) in which each chapter contains a "Guided Conversation" and a "Guided Composition." One example found in Chapter 4 illustrates this activity:

> Guided Conversation
>
> Begin a conversation with someone in your class. After exchanging greetings, ask where he/she lives. Ask if his/her apartment or room has a bathroom, shower, toilet, garage, cooking facilities, heating. You might also ask if the apartment or room is cheap, near the university, not far from the bus stop. Describe your own room or apartment, or, if you are looking for one, explain what type you want.

Guided Composition

A. Write a brief composition regarding where you live. You might begin by stating your address, then explaining your location in terms of what is opposite, near, and not far away. You also might mention in whose place you live or with whom you live. Try to use as many of the prepositional phrases you have learned in this chapter as possible (pp. 72–73).

Although these exercises are still prescriptive they do not prescribe specific utterances to the degree that the Logan exercises do.

A program for "real communication"

The students are given even more freedom to express themselves in a program developed by Wilson and Wattenmaker (107). The program is based on the conviction that students (and people in general) use the language most effectively when "the listener is interested and the talker both knows and cares about his subject, and that people learn best when they achieve success, are interested in the subject and the learning process, and are free from anxiety" (Love and Honig, 62, p. 65). These insights are certainly not new. They have been confirmed by the little knowledge psychology has given us about motivation. The "linguistic barriers" the student faces can certainly appear insurmountable when "affective barriers" (for example, inferiority feeling, fear of ridicule, fear of failure, boredom) accompany them. Wilson and Wattenmaker (107) have developed communicative exercises in growth and awareness that require the students to express their true feelings about themselves and people they associate with daily. Exercises from the very first day emphasize personal interactions with items such as, "I am ______________________. Who are you?" They continue in subsequent days with, "Who is she? Who is he? I am a teacher; what is your father?" Other tasks involve "the Human Development Program of Bessell and Palomeres based on a 'magic circle' of no more than 16 members responding to questions that elicit personal experiences and the feelings evoked by them" (p. 8). Some examples are "Look around the room. What do you see that you like?" The student may respond, "I like the clock." The leader of the group replies, "You like the clock. It makes you feel free." The authors further explain the classroom procedure: "Everyone has a turn or may pass if he chooses. The atmosphere is attentive and reflective. After all turns–or after an interval of silence–someone is asked to recall what each one has said, speaking directly to the person" (p. 9). Another technique is a value clarification continuum:

> Where are you on this line?
> I like to be with people. __________ I like to be alone.
> Each participant goes to the board, marks and initials his place on the line and explains it if he likes (p. 9).

Other techniques include interview, interaction exercises, rank-order exercises ("Tell us in order of importance if you are happier talking to friends, taking a walk, or reading a book") and incomplete sentences ("At this moment, I'm ________ [feeling]. I'm a __________ person [characteristics]") (p. 10).

The authors point out that "to establish relevant, enjoyable, and live communication, it is important to help the group function in the target language so that, from the beginning, the new language is perceived as a valuable tool for meaningful communication" (p. 11).

Similar techniques have been proposed by Wolfe and Howe (108) who suggest that the main purpose of the activities they describe "is to help students find answers to the questions: Who am I? and What do I want to be?" (p. 82). Numerous activities are suggested such as work with a "values grid" in which the student is given the opportunity to react to and discuss current issues, "values voting" in which the student reacts to questions such as: (given here in English to illustrate the approach) "How many of you are going to the church? How many want to go?" and "rank order" exercises in which the student responds to items such as "Where would you like to spend Saturday? on the beach? in the park? in a store? Other activities include sentence completion (I feel good when . . ."), "Public interview" (questions asked of the student such as "Are you going to the church? Do you want to go? What do you learn?), and "personal life map." All of these activities involve communication on a very personal level, which may have some inherent dangers. To avoid these dangers, the authors give the following guidelines: "Participation should always be voluntary; students must listen to each other and respect the rights of others to differ in their views; the content of the strategies should not be used for grading purposes" (p. 90).

A reader with communicative activities

Jarvis et al. (48), responding to the need for emphasizing meaningful communicative language use, have developed teachers workshop materials and a first-year French reader that provide the student many opportunities to express his own ideas and feelings on relevant topics of concern to young people. A variety of exercises are included in the text to accomplish this goal, including personal and content questions and several types of matching, alternate choice, multiple choice, completion, visual stimulus, value judgment, and simulation activities. The items progress from highly structured contexts to free expression, always emphasizing meaningful contextual language. Below are several examples, given in English, to illustrate the approach taken.

Matching

		the telephone
For me		listening to records with friends
For students	hell is	owning an old VW
For teachers	heaven is	?

Alternate Choice with Correction

Pierre Lesage, a young Frenchman, enjoys expounding on his personal philosophy. Indicate whether you consider his statements true or false. If you disagree, reword the statement so that it fits your opinion.

1 "Men are more intelligent than women."
2 "Men are more courageous than women."
3 "Women are less interesting than men."
etc.

Completion (Reactions)

1 When I am alone at home, I . . . .
2 When the weather is bad, I . . . .
3 When I listen to my favorite records, I . . . .
etc.

Simulation

Imagine you are a French tourist visiting the United States. What do you like and what do you dislike in this country?

When you travel and stay in a hotel, you will need to fill out a form like the one below. It is called a *fiche de voyageur* (sample provided). You may want to fill out this card yourself or you might want to work with a classmate so you can assume the roles of the desk clerk and the traveler. The following are questions the desk clerk might ask the traveler when he fills out the form.

1 What is your last name?
2 What is your maiden name?
3 What is your first name?
etc.

Personalization

Many of these exercises (Jarvis et al., 48; Wilson and Wattenmaker, 107; Wolfe and Howe, 108) put the emphasis for communication on a personal level at which the student is given the opportunity to express his own feelings and views. Proponents of this philosophy feel that interaction on a personal level is necessary in order for "real" communication to take place in the classroom.

Simulated communicative situations

Other materials and activities that have recently been developed put less emphasis on personal feelings and views; they rely on simulated activities providing a communicative situation in which the student must perform. Zelson (109) suggests a series of simulations such as:

> You are pawning your wrist watch. You would like $50, but the proprietor of the shop just wants to let you have $30. Try to raise him to $50, or as close to $50 as possible.
>
> Talk your mother or father into letting you borrow the car for the evening. They do not need it, but they are "underwhelmed" at the request, even though you have not had an accident or damaged the car. Their reluctance comes from annoyance at some of the minor things that you do and that you don't do.
>
> Apologize to a very casual acquaintance for having spilled coffee on his/her suit. He/she is really quite unhappy about

> it and wants money right now to take it to the cleaners, but you don't have the money and want to pay him when he actually has it cleaned. He wants it *now* (p. 34).

Disick (27) proposes similar activities with instructions to the teacher to form groups of four to eight students in which the teacher or a student aide would be the leader. In the group the leader participates as little as possible but helps with ideas or needed vocabulary words. The students choose roles and enact dramatizations such as:

> You have received a low foreign language grade on your report card. What do your parents say to you? How do you explain the grade, and whose fault is it? Do your parents punish you? How? Can you talk your way out of punishment by making certain promises?
>
> You come home from a date at three in the morning and your parents are waiting for you. How do you explain staying out so late? Do your parents believe you? How is the matter settled?
>
> A foreign exchange student is attending your school. At lunch time she asks about things she does not understand: grading system, amount of homework given, relationships between teachers and students, extracurricular clubs, and so on. She tells you how her school in the foreign country is different from yours. If she feels like it, she talks about teen-age social life in her country as compared to what it is like in the United States (p. 214).

Simulation games

Strasheim (99) suggests that we adapt some of the commercially available simulation games in English such as "Market: A Simulation Game" (Benefic Press, Westchester, Illinois) to practice communicative use of the language.

A communication mini-course

In a mini-course developed at a summer workshop on individualization a series of daily communicative activities are outlined for the student.

> Day 1: Groups of four students; one is to be a new student. One student is to introduce this "new" student to the others, and then the others tell the new student about the school. . . .

> Day 2: Each person in a group of four will tell about his family, and everyone else is to ask questions, if possible. After 15 minutes students change groups. Two people from each group will stay together, as "partners." Then in the new groups, each partner tells the two new people about the other partner's family (15–20 minutes) (Radloff, 83, p. 4).

Activities of this type are outlined for a total of 20 days. The author points out: "This mini-course, or unit, was designed to encourage the students to use French. . . . All I have tried to do here is to provide the student with situations in which he must communicate in French so that gradually he will learn to express himself in French: He will see that he can communicate in a foreign language" (p. 1).

Dialogue exercises

In a recently published text (Valette and Valette, 104) the authors have included short exercises called *L'Art du dialogue*:

> Imagine that Benoît and Marie (instead of just Benoît) are arriving. Act out a similar dialogue in which you talk about both of them. Don't forget to change some pronouns and verbs where necessary (p. 17).
>
> Act out a new phone conversation in which Marc is looking for his brother Henri (p. 55).

In *Voix et visages de la France* (106) each chapter has a section entitled *Langue vivante* divided into *Tête-à-tête* (personalized questions) *Rôles à jouer* (suggestions given in English for role playing situations) and *Le Coin des jeux* providing ideas for games to be played using French. The "Games Packet" which accompanies the instructional materials is an especially welcome addition to communicative classroom activities. The competitive atmosphere may provide a motivational boost that makes language real and lets the student forget the artificial classroom constraints. One of the authors has used a "Whiz Quiz" format similar to the quiz shows on television where students form teams and have to answer specific questions based on culture, language, current affairs, or personal information about friends and the school community. It is amazing what first-year students can understand and express in the target language when under the pressure of team performance.

Culminating experiences

Lafayette (57) suggests that foreign language instruction should include what he calls "culminating experiences." The student is given an opportunity to use what he has learned by participating in real or vicarious meaningful experiences. Several topical themes for such experiences are listed—for example, a simulated market situation, choosing a profession, travelling, vacation plans, sports and recreation, a car breakdown, a picnic, a party, and having lunch. The author points out: If chapter titles do not suggest specific ideas then the teacher might look for a common topical theme contained in one or more consecutive chapters. A unit which contained travel expressions or modes of transportation might lead to a "culminating experience" dealing with a simulated trip; clothing expressions might suggest a style show or a shopping trip to clothing stores; while a unit on home furnishings might contain the material needed to put on a model home show (p. 16).

Guessing Games

Joiner (49) has developed a series of "Guessing Games" for the very beginning of language instruction in which the student is given the opportunity to go beyond the usual drill activity. An example of this type of exercise is given in which the students have been drilled on telling time with the aid of a clock. (The teacher sets the hands and asks what time it is.) The author points out that a drill such as this does provide practice using expressions of time, but it does not provide really meaningful practice because none of the times in the drill are associated with events that are a part of the student's real world. She therefore suggests:

> The teacher using English instructs one student to think of the hour at which he went to bed last night. It will be the task of the other students to guess the time. This they do in the foreign language calling out "one a.m.," "eleven-thirty," "midnight," etc. When the correct time is guessed, it is written on the board for visual reinforcement. To continue the game, another student is asked to think of the time he finished studying the previous night. When participating in such a guessing game, the student is technically free to say whatever he wishes; however, he must base his responses on what he knows about the real world (p. 16).

A series of guessing games is proposed, such as using numbers (guessing ages, number of persons in immediate families, etc.), dates (birthdays, important dates of history, foreign holidays, etc.), prices (students are shown a number of objects and students guess prices, etc.). These activities give the student an opportunity to "communicate" on a much more realistic level than in the ordinary drill where the responses are controlled by the teacher through his presentation of stimuli which require set responses.

Listening skill

Communicative language practice need not necessarily involve active speaking. Asher (4) and Kalivoda et al. (53) devised exercises for communicative listening practice where the student has to demonstrate his comprehension of meaning by performing acts in response to oral commands. For example, an audiomotor unit involving activities in the kitchen might begin with the following directions: "Open the drawer. Take out a knife. Place the onion on the table. Chop the onion. Your eyes are watering, wipe them" (p. 393).

Audiomotor units

This idea of physical involvement while learning a language originated with Gouin (35) in the 19th century where students had to mime and act while describing orally or in writing what they were doing.

Activities outside of the classroom can also be utilized to practice communication. Paulston (80) describes an activity developed by Selekman for his Hebrew class in which each student must make a phone call to a monolingual speaker, must introduce himself, and must give the reason for his call. A specific task which has been preplanned must be accomplished by the student (for example, in coordination with the "have to do something" structure, a task may be to bring a prayer book to school in the morning). The student must then give a summary in Hebrew of the phone conversation and the resulting activity.

Telephone exercise

Other out-of-class activities that have recently become popular are summer or weekend language camps. Love and Honig (62) describe several that provide opportunities for the students to use the target language informally in daily camp activities—eating meals, shopping at the kiosk, swimming, canoeing, doing arts and crafts, performing skits, folk dancing and singing, horseback riding, hiking, fencing, playing soccer and sports.

Need for tests of communication

If the ability to communicate is indeed a major goal in foreign language instruction, this goal must be evaluated. In Carroll's (18) words, "Tests and examinations play the role of exemplifying and concretizing the major objectives of teaching, in the sense that they show the student what he is expected to be able to perform" (p. 116). Looking at current foreign language testing methods one would get the impression that our sole objective is one of mastery of the grammatical structures of the target language. However, the current overdependence on discrete-point linguistic tests is perhaps due to convenience rather than conviction. The development of valid tests of communicative competence that can be administered and reliably scored in a classroom context is still in the stages of infancy. In the 1960s highly objective instruments were developed to measure discrete linguistic knowledge. However, there is some recent evidence that the evaluation of discrete linguistic knowledge alone does not evaluate the total integration of skills necessary for communication (Bartz, 6; James, 46; Jorstad, 51; Schulz, 93).

Problems

The problem of devising face-valid realistic testing tasks is not unique in foreign language education. A statement attributed to the mathematician Peter Hilton (Copley News Service, 23) is pointedly critical of standardized objective tests in general:

> A particularly unfortunate effect of the confusion [between valid test questions and "objective" statistics] is that tests of the efficacy of training are devised and are then held to be valid tests of the success of the educational process. This truly disastrous error permeates our entire educational system. . . . The test should be concerned with genuinely important skills and should reproduce as closely as possible the real-life conditions under which the student is going to perform the task being tested (p. 37A).

Effect of testing on learning

Schulz (93) conducted a study to investigate whether testing method alone has any effect on the development of communicative competence in beginning college French classes. While instruction was held relatively constant in the four sections

(N=80) involved in the study, students in two experimental sections were given 10 weekly simulated communication tests developed by the researcher in all four skills, and two control group classes were given 10 conventional discrete-point item tests testing the four skills. Findings indicated that those students who had been given discrete-point tests during the quarter scored significantly higher on the discrete-point subtests of the final examination measuring listening comprehension ($p < .001$), reading ($p < .05$) and writing ($p < .05$) than did students who had taken only simulated communication tests. There were no significant differences among groups on the discrete-point speaking subtests and on the four simulated communication subtests. These results indicate that discrete-point linguistic tests are superior to simulated communication tests in developing student awareness of grammatical structures. However, the experimental group scored consistently (although statistically nonsignificant) higher on all simulated communication procedures, indicating that testing in general has a practice effect that affects achievement.

In a review of the field of foreign language testing, Jorstad (52) has surveyed recent developments in the area of evaluation. She describes tests developed and used by Byers, Clark, Fabian, Oller, Palmer, Rose, Savignon, Spolsky, and others. Clark (20) describes tests of communicative competence such as the interview tests developed by the Foreign Service Institute (FSI), and the Peace Corps Communicative Task Test developed by the Educational Testing Service. Examples of these tests are given, and Clark concludes that:

> Testing procedures based on a determination of the accuracy and extent of a student's linguistic command of the foreign language cannot serve to measure directly his communicative proficiency. Rather, what appear to be needed are workable tests of communicative proficiency in which the student's performance is evaluated not on the basis of extent of vocabulary, accuracy of morphology and syntax, excellence of pronunciation, and so forth, but rather in terms of the adequacy with which the student can communicate in specified language-use situations (p. 120).

Therefore, as Clark points out, a major problem that must be dealt with in the testing of communicative competence in the classroom is the simulation of a "language-use situation."

Published tests

Published tests that accompany textbooks still employ predominantly discrete-point items that are usually designed to evaluate specific points of phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon. One such testing program does include a few items that attempt to evaluate communicative ability. An example of such a test item is:

> Write what you and Franz would say in the following conversation. Be sure you spell, capitalize, and punctuate correctly.
>
> You meet your good friend Franz on the street. Greet him and ask how he is. He says he's fine. Just then he spies a pretty girl across the street and asks who that is. You tell him that's Frieda Schmidt. He's suddenly in a hurry to get away so he says good-bye and leaves (Moeller and Arendt, 67, p. 4).

The item does put the student into a simulated situation in which he must communicate. However, because the instructions make it quite clear that spelling, punctuation, etc. will play a major role in the evaluation, the question still is whether he is really being evaluated on his ability to send a message or whether discrete linguistic knowledge is being evaluated. Moreover, the student is performing in a mode of communication (writing) that does not fit the communicative situation.

Scoring procedures

A vital component of a communicative competence test is the scoring procedure. Discrete linguistic errors should not be the primary criterion for a test of communication; rather the criteria must be based on the student's ability to produce or comprehend a message in the foreign language. This, of course, will involve a certain degree of subjectivity on the part of the evaluator. The question he must deal with, especially in tests of the productive skills, is the degree to which linguistic error interferes with the intended message of the speaker (or writer). Clark (20) suggests that communicative and linguistic criteria not be mixed in the evaluation of communicative competence, as he believes this mixture "serves only to obscure the distinction between the two types of measurement (linguistic and communicative) and decrease the validity of the test as a direct measure of communicative proficiency" (p. 126). However, as Schulz (93) points out:

> It is difficult to totally separate the two criteria, as the linguistic quality of an utterance can influence comprehensibility, the basic communicative criterion. Furthermore, while a major goal of most college or secondary language programs is a communicative ability in the target language, there is a justifiable concern with linguistic correctness because we are not just attempting to teach survival communication . . . we are also trying to teach literacy in another language (p. 66).

Rating scales

Recent attempts to evaluate communicative competence have relied heavily on rating scales as a means for scoring, especially for the speaking skill. In this way an effort is made to avoid scoring discrete linguistic error. The Educational Testing Service (29) has developed a six-point rating scale for each of five language areas: pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, fluency, and comprehension. This rating procedure is used in evaluating language proficiency of Peace Corps volunteers. The Foreign Service Interview described by Clark (20) uses five "levels" ranging from "elementary proficiency" (able to satisfy routine travel needs and minimum courtesy requirements) to "native or bilingual proficiency" (speaking proficiency equivalent to that of an educated native speaker) (pp. 122–23). Savignon (92) uses different criteria to evaluate different parts of her oral communicative competence test. She employs six-point scales ranging from "none" to "great" for criteria such as effort to communicate, amount of communication, comprehensibility and suitability of introduction, naturalness and poise, comprehension by native, comprehensibility and suitability of conclusion and fluency. Savignon also uses scales for linguistic criteria such as pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. Bartz (6) uses four scales to evaluate the oral components of his tests—fluency, quality of communication, amount of communication, and effort to communicate. In the Bartz study two native speakers of German evaluated 50 high school German students, resulting in an interrater reliability of .99. Of the four scales used the amount of communication scale served as the best predictor of the students' total score on the communicative competence tests.

Schulz (93) used similar scales in her study, also achieving high interrater reliability and high correlations between three scales—amount of communication, quality of communication, and fluency. These findings support Upshur's (102) conclusions "that scores (especially amount of communication) do reflect a general language proficiency factor" (p. 182).

Procedures devised by Savignon (92) to test oral communicative competence consist of discussion, interview (getting information), and two monologue techniques—reporting (for example, on family background, life on campus, or winter vacation) and a description of a live actor.

Bartz (6) and Schulz (93) used some similar techniques for their speaking tests as well as oral summaries of written materials, interview (giving information), and description of pictures. In addition, they developed communicative tests for the writing, listening, and reading skills. An example of a listening comprehension test from the Bartz study follows:

A listening test

> Communicative Competence Test Listening:
>
> Pretend you are living in Germany with a German family (the Schmidts) for the summer. The whole family has gone out of the house and you are left alone. The telephone rings, you answer the phone and after appropriate greetings, the party on the line wants to talk to Frau Schmidt. You try to tell her she is not there, but she insists on giving you a message. You hear her say the following. Listen carefully and take notes in English. Then write up in English your message for Frau Schmidt. Telephone Message: *Ich bin die Nachbarin, Frau Müller. Ich wollte Frau Schmidt sprechen. Würden Sie ihr bitte sagen, dass ich morgen um 8 Uhr vorbeikomme und dann können wir zusammen einkaufen gehen* (pp. 154–55).

Scoring of this item was accomplished by making a list of possible points of information and awarding one point for each item of information the student included in his English message. Similar procedures can be used with tests of the reading skill.

An example of a writing test comes from the Schulz study:

A writing test

After traveling in Europe for the summer, you end up in Genève, Switzerland, totally broke and forced to look for a job. You come across the following ad in the newspaper *La Tribune de Genève* (Note: permis C refers to a Swiss working permit for foreign nationals):

Mesdemoiselles, Messieurs

désirez-vous une profession avec avancement rapide?
Une Compagnie internationale américaine cherche des

et messieurs dames

Nous offrons:	**Nous demandons:**
—une formation complète	—le sens des responsabilités et des contacts humains
—une situation intéressante	—nationalité suisse ou permis C
—un portefeuille important	—âge idéal: 25-35 ans.

Arthur MURRAY Studio
2, cours de Rive (4e étage)
De 10 à 12 h. et de 14 h. à 18 h.
2197 Te

You decide to apply for the advertised position. In order to be considered for the job, you have to submit a short résumé in French about your background. Write as many sentences as you can, including any information which might be helpful in getting you the job. Be sure to include the following information:

who you are
when and where you were born
where you live at present (use your imagination)
profession
what university you attended
how long you have studied French
how long you have been in Switzerland
how well you speak French
what other languages you speak (p. 136).

Scoring procedures for this test were accomplished by using both quantity and quality as dimensions for evaluation.

Quantity of information was defined as the percentage of comprehensible bits of information contained in the student's written paragraph. A bit of information was taken to be any

> written utterance which added new information. Quality of information was defined as the average percentage of correctly spelled words and syntactically correct bits of information (pp. 71–72).

Using a similar test, Bartz found that quantity of information alone was a satisfactory criterion.

Future directions

Need for communication objectives

This review of the field indicates that more precise statements of objectives combining linguistic and communicative competence are needed. Furthermore, additional instructional materials that integrate communicative exercises must be developed. Many texts still put exclusive emphasis on linguistic (manipulative) exercises, especially at the early stages of instruction. Materials that make students aware of register variations of social language rules and of kinesic and paralinguistic features of the language are especially required. Tests that evaluate communicative competence and tests that have face validity and can be administered and scored with ease in a classroom situation must be developed.

Need for more research

There is need for further research to define more clearly the construct of communicative competence and to examine how certain classroom strategies of both the teacher and the learner will affect communicative ability. Questions concerning the importance of grammatical accuracy in communication, effect of teacher correction, and the relationship of first and second language acquisition are all problems that need extensive investigation (Powell, 82).

Empirical studies must deal with the problem of whether situational structuring of materials is superior to sequential grammatical structuring for the adolescent and adult learner and whether there is an ideal ratio in the use of discrete-point and communicative activities in order to achieve optimum linguistic and communicative proficiency.

We must examine whether students of differing language aptitude and differing personality profiles learn how to communicate more effectively through linguistic or communicative approaches. It would be worthwhile to investigate whether students with specific personal goals (for example, intrinsic versus extrinsic motivation) would achieve more with one approach or the other.

Summary

1 The call for focusing on the development of communicative proficiency in the foreign language classroom is not unanimous. Carroll (17), for instance, feels that as far as the teacher is concerned, the teacher is responsible only for developing in the students those basic competences on which successful use of language depends. The foreign language teacher cannot be held responsible if a student possessed of all the basic language competencies fails to use them in practical situations (p. 9).

2 Valdman (103) questions whether communicative competence is indeed the most highly valued objective in the general language course and also to what extent we can realistically expect to develop communicative competence within the constraints of formal classroom instruction. While Valdman and Carroll seem to favor initial concentration on developing linguistic competence and suggest that communicative competence be left as a goal for advanced and special purpose courses, Allen (1), Jakobovits and Gordon (45), Rivers et al. (89), and Savignon (92) recommend that communicative proficiency be developed concurrently with linguistic proficiency right from the beginning of the language course.

Danger of "bandwagonism"

3 Examining recent professional literature, the authors have become aware that the call for communicative or transactional competence risks becoming another "bandwagon" movement in foreign language instruction, perhaps headed in the same direction as those other purportedly utopian vehicles. There is no need for radical change; for total substitution of one "method" for another "method"; for new equipment, textbooks, architectural designs, time schedules, staffing patterns. There is only a need for reorientation toward language as a means of communication, for an awareness that language was and is created by man for the sole purpose of sharing experiences. Let us include as

many activities as our convictions and our creativity permit so that we might lead the student toward the attainment of this ability to share his experiences with others in the target language. Both abilities must go hand in hand. Until research with adolescent and adult foreign language learners in a conventional classroom setting demonstrates to the contrary, we have to accept by *a priori* reasoning that we need to involve the student in discrete-point linguistic as well as communicative activities to establish congruency between our goals and instructional methods. We must recognize the distinctive difference between linguistic and communicative competence and the need for special activities for the teaching of communication. The challenge is to devise techniques and procedures that encourage students to communicate but do not exceed their foreign language competence.

4 Three conditions appear to be necessary for communicative competence to develop. First, the student needs authentic meaningful life situations in which to practice the language; second, he needs the motivation to express himself; and third, he needs the freedom to use the language and to create and experiment linguistically in a supportive classroom environment without fear of ridicule, being rewarded for the content of what he says, rather than having the teacher recoil at his errors.

Our hope is that in the foreign language classroom of today and tomorrow the student will be truly *free to communicate.*

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Foreign language materials: A status report and trends analysis

Introduction

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The last rites over the body of NDEA funding for foreign languages were performed in the late 1960s. But the mourners—foreign language educators—experienced great difficulty in adjusting to independence without the backing of a healthy trust fund. The search for direction has been difficult, complicated by catalytic factors, including:

1 Nosediving enrollments: With the relaxing of traditional entrance and exit requirements at universities, the pressure was no longer on students to "take languages now so that you won't have to take them later."
2 Rise in students' rights: "I am a student, but I'm also an individual whose future is at stake. Teach me as I am."
3 Comparison shopping: "If Miss Walters can't give me the kind of class that I want, well, I'll try Mr. Córdoba."
4 Leper's philosophy: "If we foreign language teachers huddle together and remain inconspicuous, these problems will all blow over."
5 Fiscal cutbacks: Headlines read, "Bond Issues Defeated" and "External Funding Down."

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6 Stagflation (Shane, 127): Prices soar and real income shrinks. Purchasing agents complain, "Books and materials are too expensive to buy in large lots these days."

7 Fragmentation: "What approach shall I use in my class? Ideas are emerging so fast that I can't even keep up with the jargon let alone the contents of the journals."

8 Accountability: "We, the parents, are paying you to be a teacher. How well are you doing your job?"

Emancipation provocation?

A spirit of curricular and instructional freedom is energizing foreign language teachers for the first time in more than a decade. But why now? Perhaps as Janis Joplin, the late mother of hard rock music, sang, "Freedom's just another word for nothing left to lose." Language educators tend to overlook the possibility that our newfound freedom was embraced at a time when there was little left to lose—except our jobs. Fortunately, reality jolted us out of a pervasive "edu-funk," for continued pessimism and lack of action might have developed into a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Uncovering trends

"Do contemporary foreign language materials reflect the current thinking and rhetoric of the profession-at-large?" In seeking answers to this question, an attempt has been made to analyze *trends* in production and application rather than to scrutinize and evaluate new products on an *individual* basis. Materials that serve as broad examples of a selected trend are highlighted in this chapter. The fact that a work is cited as an example, however, does not necessarily indicate that it has been judged to be of the highest quality: It means, rather, that it is representative of a trend.

Defining the materials

The vast field of foreign language materials can be divided into media groups: print dominant, mixed media, and nonprint dominant. Print-dominant materials include standard textbooks, readers, workbooks, and guides that are to be used without additional audio or visual materials. They constitute the bulk of materials produced for and used in most classrooms. Mixed-media materials are those sets that provide an interdependent blend of formats; the most common is print plus audio materials. Nonprint-dominant items are those that provide instruction with no dependence upon display of the printed word on paper; examples of such materials are films, television programs, and audio cassettes.

To summarize current trends in the profession, we grouped six journals during the period 1972–74 according to topics. The journals were *American Foreign Language Teacher, Die Unterrichtspraxis, Foreign Language Annals, French Review, Hispania,* and *The Modern Language Journal.* In addition, a similar topic analysis was performed using the programs for the following meetings: ACTFL Annual Meeting (1972–74), Southern Conference on Language Teaching (1972–74), Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (1972–73), Central States Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (1973–75), and Pacific Northwest Conference on Language Teaching (1974). The results indicate that the following areas have received primary emphasis:

The thinking of the profession

1. Performance / competency - based education constructed around specifically delineated terminal objectives
2. Construction of evaluative instruments that examine progress in mastering multiple linguistic skills and correlate substantially with previously stated objectives
3. Designing of instruction that stresses affective operations of the learner
4. Individualization and personalization of instruction
5. Teaching of the culture of the target population
6. Teaching of cultural aspects derived from multi-ethnic groups in the United States of America
7. Vocational and career education
8. Application of poststructural linguistic notions to the teaching of foreign languages
9. Humanization of education
10. Deviation from the full semester, Carnegie unit course structure
11. Faith in the premise that the classroom teacher knows best what students under his/her supervision require to master the content
12. Teacher-made materials to facilitate and enhance instruction
13. Variety in course titles, contexts, and contents and the use of the traditional "unit" approach to plan short courses

14 A decline in the one textbook series or one "method" format
15 Communicative competence
16 "Cognitive code" theory with a blended rebirth of inductive strategies

The delineated trends appear to be legitimately ensconced as bona fide hubs of contemporary discussion in foreign language education. We note, however, that most of them are not the exclusive property of foreign languages, but represent current trends throughout major segments of school curricula. Finally, no more than 3 of the 16 trends–Numbers 5, 8, and 15–are products of our discipline; the other 13 were adopted from other educational agencies or disciplines.

A positive correlation appears to exist between the selected trends and the initially stated "catalytic factors." Many of the trends can be viewed as responses to the realities of post-NDEA education. For example, is not "comparison shopping" the parent of today's mini-course topical class section and multiple-course options? Did not the rise of accountability require that teachers attend to the development of precise learning objectives and evaluative instruments? What is the relationship between the growth of attention to teacher-made materials and a worsening economy? It seems that we have responded well to many of the realities of mid-1970s education, and that fact alone is an affirmative alternative to our prior "hide-and-don't-seek" stance. An examination of a sample of teaching-learning materials reveals whether they reflect the response of the profession and the producers of materials in other domains.

Print-dominant materials

Textbooks

Selecting the appropriate textbook is a major responsibility of the teacher. Although the textbook alone cannot account for the success or failure of a course, it is usually the teacher's most important tool. Today the problem is compounded by both the overwhelming abundance of language materials and the unavailability of a comprehensive classification and evaluation of those materials. Bartel (13) offers some guidelines that may

Selecting textbooks

assist a teacher in choosing a text that will coexist with his particular pedagogical and personal practices, preferences, and abilities. Major issues must be considered—the departmental philosophy or mission statement; the training, background, and opinions of personnel; the students; the basic language program; enrollment; physical facilities; contact hours; and scheduling. The success of any textbook will depend upon "1) the foreign language program in which it is used, 2) the degree to which the textbook reflects the views of the teacher and the principles of his program, 3) the ability of the teacher to adapt and supplement the textbook without rendering it ineffective." Buck and Haase (18) compiled a comprehensive descriptive bibliography of 645 German textbooks ranging from beginning text to integrated series, science grammars, area readers, several categories of anthologies, and works by individual authors. Appendixes cover selected supplementary teaching materials as well as bibliography and methodology references.

Frechette (45) closely examined 93 textbooks published between 1968 and 1973 for use at both the elementary and intermediate levels in high school and college. A review of Spanish textbooks is scheduled for publication in *The Modern Language Journal*.

Noting that most reviews of German textbooks are biased and that no indication is given as to the qualifications of reviewers, Pfister and Rada (110) used evaluation criteria based on standards established by the Modern Language Association in reviewing hardcover college-level basic German texts published in the United States and Canada between 1968 and 1972.

Comprehensive reviews of five recently published basic German textbooks for high school students have been written by Grittner and Welty (58). Also, Scanlan (119) thoroughly reviewed three major Latin texts that were released since 1968.

A form for evaluating the cultural content of foreign language texts was recently created by Joiner (72) and may prove useful as an aid to textbook selection.

Today's textbooks

The appearance and format of current textbooks are beginning to reflect the glitter of space-age technology that characterizes the world of today's youth. The tenor of today's technological orientation is exemplified in the chrome-like cover of *Español a lo vivo* (Hansen and Wilkins, 61); the space-age spirit is exemplified in the galaxy design of *Découverte et création* (Jian and Hester, 71). Similarly, a genuine effort is being made to appeal to youth through colorful, professional, and artistic photography. Textbook writers are attempting to depict people in their everyday environments in all countries in which the foreign language is spoken rather than to place emphasis on past achievements or notable events of civilization. This visual orientation is exemplified in the photographic themes of each chapter in *Débuts* (Boucher and Paris, 14) and *Reprise* (Boucher et al., 15). Likewise, simple, effective, and more humorous illustrations are more carefully chosen to avoid the possibility of cultural stereotyping. Cartoon-like illustrations in *Son et sens* (Valdman et al., 132) are used as aids to learning vocabulary and structure and match large charts intended for classroom work.

The majority of textbooks remain primarily grammar oriented with the usual basic drills and exercises. A move from the mechanical to semantic-type exercises can be seen, however. The approach to teaching grammar appears to be a combination of audiolingual and cognitive techniques. This is evident in the bulk of texts that label their approach as pragmatic or eclectic. Grammar explanations tend to be in English. Emphasis still remains on the four skills, with increasing attention to reading, writing, and culture. There is a modest movement in the direction of cognitive learning principles and in the application of modern linguistics. This trend is best represented in the applied linguistic orientation of the series entitled *Spanish for Communication* (Bull et al., 20). In this approach students learn to use the terminology of structural linguistics and to apply it by contrasting and comparing their native language's strategies to the new language. Questions and answers are designed in such a way that students learn to discover certain linguistic facts.

In general, speaking continues to receive the greatest emphasis in skills development. A wealth of drills and techniques, including role-playing and personalized questions, provide ample practice. Dialogues are being shortened, and their content is becoming more relevant and authentic, which can result in applicability of the language in real-life situations. Filmstrips, slides, recordings, and illustrations can be used effectively to stimulate speaking; supplementary materials are available.

Many textbooks are now employing frequency lists of vocabulary and structures that make the content more adaptable to everyday use. *Le Français fondamental* is utilized in *French for Mastery* (Valette and Valette, 133), *Voix et visages de la France* (134), *Débuts* (Boucher and Paris, 14), and *Reprise* (Boucher et al., 15). Similarly, *The Frequency Dictionary of Spanish Words* served as a reference in the construction of *Continuing Spanish* (30).

Systematic presentation of phonology is demonstrated in many chapters of *Le Français:langue et culture* (Rolland et al., 115), *Español a lo vivo* (Hansen and Wilkins, 61), and *Mastering Spanish* (Turk and Espinosa, 130). A self-instructional pronunciation program, complete with workbook and tapes, is an important component of *Voix et visages de la France* (134).

Intermediate textbooks seem to omit the building of listening comprehension skills. A few systematic procedures for listening comprehension are illustrated in *French for Mastery* (Valette and Valette, 133) by means of recorded materials for the student text, selective listening for grammar signals, and listening comprehension of unfamiliar passages. In addition, some textbooks provide auditory discrimination exercises and dictation.

Dialogues and reading selections continue to be the core of most lessons. A systematic approach to the building of the reading skill is visible in several texts in which the selections are carefully graded and the readings are based on themes of interest to students. *Invitación al español* (Sacks da Silva, 117) bases dialogues on interrelated situations involving three particular families. *Calidiscopio de las Américas* (Martin and Martin, 91) contains many reading selections abstracted from current magazine and newspaper articles. Literary selections include masterpieces of great Hispanic writers from a variety of genres from the first to the twentieth century, but major emphasis is on the 19th and 20th centuries. *French for Mastery* (Valette and Valette, 133) builds reading skills through cognates and false cognates, word families, multiple meanings, and logical derivations of meanings of new words from their affixes. Other aids in reading include selection introductions, marginal notes, synonyms and antonyms, and glosses.

There is little evidence of any planned or orderly approach to the teaching of writing. This skill is usually employed to reinforce the learning of grammar, spelling, and vocabulary. In *Actualidad hispánica* and *Vuelo,* the third volume of *Invitación al español* (Sacks da Silva, 117), however, major emphasis is on reading and writing. Writing development is at first highly controlled through exercises and guided composition; ultimately creative writing is the goal.

Although civilization permeates most texts, there is an inincreasing concern for hearthstone culture (Brooks, 17). More attention is being directed toward countries that are neighbors of the United States. Culture is being presented in a variety of ways, not simply through historical readings. The main vehicles for presenting cultural information continue to be the dialogues, cultural notes, pictures, and reading selections. Each *etapa* of *Spanish for Communication* (Bull et al., 20), for example, contains brief notes contrasting life in most of the United States with life in Spanish-speaking areas. This series also presents gestures by means of illustrations and English explanations. The appendixes provide cultural notes on each country and lists of proverbs and social customs. *Español a lo vivo* (Hansen and Wilkins, 61) presents the deep culture of Spanish countries through culture capsules, notes, proverbs, and captioned pictures. *Son et sens* (Valdman et al., 132) provides the teacher with cultural supplements for each lesson. Nonetheless, many textbooks continue to ignore or overlook the culture and everyday life of the target populations.

In contrast to the language series of the past decade, textbook publishers are developing fewer audiovisual supplementary materials. Many series still come complete with cassette tapes, but films and other visual components are diminishing. The superb materials produced by Encyclopaedia Britannica, among them *Je Parle Français* (67) and *La Familia Fernández* (41) still stand as the most comprehensive audiovisual series in the field. They, in all likelihood, will reign without challenge for many years due to the present high costs involved with the development of similar products.

Helping the teacher

Introductions to the teachers are becoming a more useful portion of textbooks. These guidelines usually include some of the following: sample lesson plans, suggested teaching techniques, charts, chapter summaries of grammatical objectives, suggested realia for culture, lists of useful classroom expressions, proposals for planning short- and long-term goals, and optional activities. The most comprehensive teacher's guide reviewed is *Spanish for Communication* (Hansen and Wilkins, 61), which provides complete daily lesson plans.

In conjunction with the new wave of accountability, authors are beginning to provide both teacher and student with objectives and performance criteria. In addition, some textbook series offer complete testing programs. *Son et sens* (Valdman et al., 132) offers lesson tests and major tests on spirit duplicating masters. Oral portions are provided on audio cassettes or reel-to-reel tapes.

Individualizing instruction

Possibly the most pervasive new development in language textbooks is their flexibility and adaptability for individualizing instruction. *French for Mastery* (Valette and Valette, 133), with its logical organization, breadth of activities, and system of self-tests, lends itself to individualized instruction. Some texts, like *Invitación al español* (Sacks da Silva, 117) have separate workbooks for individualized work. *A la Française* (Clarke, 28) and *Nous les jeunes* (Clarke and Langelier, 29) provide individualized study packets as an optional supplement; the school system buys the set of original packets and receives permission to duplicate them. *Hablamos español* (La Grone and Romera-Navarro, 78) is another new product that is similar to the French series mentioned above. Packets for the entire first level come in a large three-ringed notebook which permits easy removal, repackaging, and final retrieval. Informal reports indicate that other publishing organizations (among them Newbury House) plan to release individualized foreign language programs in German, Spanish, and French. In press at this time is a manual written by Mueller and Clausing (97) for use in an individualized instruction program based upon the second edition of *Moderne deutsche Sprachlehre*. Thus, it can be safely stated that strategies for modifying time, rate, and content factors are being reflected in numerous learning kits that accompany standard textbooks.

Less FLES

The FLES market is all but threadbare when one searches for new titles and approaches. The growth of funding in the bilingual/bicultural domain has drawn many publishers to that area rather than to FLES. As a result, a few curious developments have taken place that have not harmed teachers or students but which smack of retitling à la Hollywood: One major publisher has discontinued its FLES series, put a new cover on the book, and marketed it as a new "bilingual/bicultural" textbook for teaching Spanish to Hispano children.

As the profession moves toward more diversified and individualized programs of foreign language instruction, the need grows for reference and resource materials direct from the foreign countries. Recognizing this need as well as a potential market, Educational Services International, Inc., conducted a survey in early 1975 to determine the interest of teachers and scholars in a mail-order service for German materials in the United States. Results of the survey will be released at the end of 1975 and, if positive, should provide teachers with a new commercial source.

Today's textbooks for basic language instruction meld audiolingual, traditional, and cognitive exercises and modes of presentation. A few series are moving to a more-than-two-year coverage of lessons. Teachers' guides are better, bigger, and more precise than they have been in the past. Quizzes and tests are provided in booklet form or on spirit masters, thereby freeing the teacher from the task of constructing all evaluative instruments independently. Individualizing instruction is making inroads with publishers to the extent that several series provide supplementary guides for the teachers who wish to broaden their approach. Audio and visual components are generally optional rather than integral in the newly released series.

Reading texts

Selecting a reader becomes a difficult task due mainly to the number of books written for the expressed purpose of teaching reading. In addition, the diversity in students' tastes becomes an unquantifiable factor when choosing a reader. One is, therefore, inclined to ask if there are appropriate textbooks for teaching reading available for students of varying ages, most notably at the high school level. Leal (82) suggests that the teacher who is selecting a textbook of short stories "will have no difficulty in finding a collection that will interest the students and be appropriate for their reading level" (p. 442). Our findings are not in agreement with his conclusion—quite the contrary, because most readers published today contain a vocabulary count far above the students' level. As Christiansen (27) states, "The recommended level of foreign language texts is often unrealistically high so that second-year texts, for instance, are used in third-year courses." Thus, in spite of the large number of books available, the two instructional features—context and content—become determining factors in the selection process.

Word lists seem rarely used in determining the vocabulary count of the reading selection. Frechette (46) concurs that readers published today are "unsystematically structured for teaching reading, unsuitable for the levels intended, beyond the grasp of students, and too remote time-wise to generate interest" (p. 7). He calls for a construction design that utilizes the vocabulary that the student learned during the prereading oral phase of foreign language learning. This familiar vocabulary should provide the basis for reading passages, thereby reducing problems that arise when unknown written forms abound.

Recently several readers have broken the traditional pattern of presenting passages derived from literary masterpieces or fragments. *Contextes* (Carduner and Carduner, 23), for example, contains vivid illustrations and short excerpts from newspapers and magazines. The short selections deal with relevant topics within the thematic framework of the text. Unlike many readers, the glossary of vocabulary words at the book's end does not provide definitions; instead, it indicates the page number on which the word first appeared. Students are directed to return to the original source and learn the meaning through interpretation of the sentence's context.

Conversaciones con madrileños (Sedwick and Azana, 122) is concerned with the lifestyles of various people who live in Madrid and employs photographs to depict ways in which their occupations differ from those of Americans.

To relate more directly to the experiences of young language students, many publishers are encouraging editors to produce books that contain the works of contemporary foreign writers. *Junge deutsche Autoren* (Mulligan and Aretz, 98) is a recent German reader for the intermediate student that contains contemporary stories, poems, poem-essays, and dramatic works by younger but already established German writers on both sides of the Wall.

Contemporizing reading texts

Although Frechette (47) indicates that few authors deal with life in contemporary France, many new reading texts are constructed around the culture and lifestyle of populations in other geographical locations. The Caribbean, francophone Africa, Quebec, and Central America are being highlighted in many new works. Even closer to our students' world are new books that focus upon the life and literature of Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other bilingual minorities. In *La Prensa*, for example, Alegría (2) groups articles and editorials from Latin American newspapers. Each chapter contains an opening editorial on the topic of interest and concludes with discussion questions. Lewald's *Latinoamérica: Sus culturas y sociedades* (84) is yet another anthology of extracts from articles, essays, and books on sociology, culture, and ethnology. The importance of the oral tradition in African literature is evident in Mortimer's *Contes Africains* (95), an anthology of short stories. Similar to Alegría's book is Morton and Morton's *La Presse* (96), which employs unedited headline news articles from the three leading French newspapers.

Collections of works by women or about women are being released in an obvious effort to establish an equilibrium with the male-dominated writers and writings. *Les Femmes en France* (Collins and Sayre, 29) and *Réflets de la Femme* (Carpio and Carton-Carpio, 24) are two recent works that illustrate a modest movement toward selecting content on the basis of the authors' sex.

In general, most reading texts have the same format as their predecessors did several years ago. Reading material is followed by some type of question exercise and recall exercise. Following these activities may be several thematic topics to stimulate discussion or composition. Unfortunately, the bulk of these exercises continue to be syntax-oriented with little attention to semantic-insight development. Also, questions that are closely aligned to the recall of data in the reading passage overweigh questions that may elicit contextual, generalized, or personalized responses.

Footnoted material, placed either in the margin or at the bottom of the page, is frequently presented in the student's native language. Occasionally use of footnotes is so extreme, as in *Cuentos de hoy y de ayer* (Pittaro, 112), that one wonders if the student learns more by reading the passage or the footnotes.

Steiner (128) predicted that inexpensive less sturdy paperbacks would appear in the future to replace hardbound readers. This seems to be a production trend for reading materials, as very few hardbound reading texts were reviewed. Although paperbound works are less expensive to produce and market, they certainly are not inexpensive. Great caution is taken by all publishers when signing contracts for new titles because charges for paper, inks, printing, and advertising have created overall increases to the extent that today's paperback edition rivals yesterday's hardbound book in price. One safeguard is a more sophisticated reviewing process prior to contracting. Still another is a more careful survey of the desires of the consumers. Both procedures appear to have yielded better books and more titles.

Many teachers will continue to find the search for one satisfactory reader difficult. Publishers continue to cater to the college market in their reader production, leaving to the multiple-year basic series the responsibility for providing reading passages. However, some exciting developments in the production of basic-level readers are planned for 1976. One of them is the release of *Connaître et se connaître* (Jarvis et al., 66), a foreign language textbook containing high-interest reading passages plus an abundance of communicative activities. Slated for release by the same publisher the following year is a similar Spanish textbook.

Topical or "relevant" titles are in vogue; women, authors from the colonized or language-sharing countries, American ethnic minorities, and black authors are brought together between two paper covers. This organizational technique provides learners with a large measure of sound reading that was previously overlooked, while uplifting and updating the publishers' "families" of titles. Also, because readers present contemporary issues more directly than textbooks can, they will continue to bring a fresh breeze to the classroom—a breeze of newness and "nowness."

Cultural materials

The sheer volume of information and understandings that must be at the teacher's fingertips when he teaches a language that may be spoken in dozens of countries by scores of cultural groupings can only be offset by having access to ample source materials. The previous absence of sociocultural information and insights within the core textbooks made it necessary for teachers to supply students with extra data drawn from personal experience or supplementary materials. Nostrand (106) in 1968 predicted that for the profession ". . . . the stubbornest problem will be to produce reliable and exciting instructional materials for teaching the language skills, the analysis of language, the enjoyment of literature, *and understanding of the foreign people's style of life*" (p. 448). Seven years later this broad problem remains unsolved. Creating motivationally sound, student-centered, culturally oriented courses is a mind-taxing assignment. Yet, since 1972 we find many discussions of what culture is and how it might be taught (Brooks, 17; Jenks, 69; Ladu, 75; Nostrand, 105; Seelye, 123) as well as numerous suggestions for incorporating cultural experiences into foreign language learning (Altman and Hanzeli, 5; Seelye, 123).

Teaching culture

We are not experiencing a shortage of techniques or rationales for teaching culture. We have plenty of "why's," "how's," "where's," and "when's": We lack "what's." The actual information, the findings of current sociological research, and the information concerning the various cultures is and will continue to be the soft spot in the teaching of culture. This places the foreign language teacher in an unenviable position–the delivery systems are here but we have not located much that we need to deliver.

Hearthstone culture

Print materials mentioned below are those that attempt to teach "hearthstone" culture (Brooks, 17) rather than "Olympian" aspects. Civilization texts are readily available; every major publisher seems to have at least one such text suited for the college or elusive "advanced" secondary school class. The similarity of civilization books dates back nearly 20 years and, thus, eliminates the need to overview them in this section. More unusual are those works that have sought to bring technique and information together at the "hearth's" level.

Miller and Bishop (94) are personally marketing their recent books designed for students of Spanish and French. Using "culture capsules," their World Culture series contains paperback books, each of which provides approximately 50 comparative/contrastive short lessons that are written predominantly in English. North American culture within the United States provides the point of comparison or contrast with the target culture.

Units and mini-courses on foreign cultures have mushroomed in the past four years. Excellent examples of both are the State of Minnesota's "Human Relations Units for German Language Classes" (Seidel, 126) and Hatton and Jackson's *The Bullfight* (63). Funded programs such as the Individualized Spanish for Speakers of English of Dade County, Florida, are growing sources of short-course curricula with profound cultural content.

An unanticipated entry into the field was the "Packettes" series, by F. André Paquette (108). Teachers subscribe to the series as they would to a magazine. They receive a four-to-six-page graphically clever brochure that presents a cultural point, examples of cultural application, and exercises. The relatively inexpensive subscription brings a lesson via mail about every two weeks. For maximum effectiveness the content of the entire year's series would have to be known in advance by the teacher, and the publishers would have to guarantee that at least one entire year of brochures is forthcoming. Because this is a new product, it will remain for future reviewers to determine its effectiveness and reliability.

Seelye and Day's *The Newspaper: Spanish Mini-Culture Unit* (125) is perhaps the most unusual release of the past year. Twenty-four short units on Spanish culture were created by using foreign newspapers as the original source of information. The book contains two dozen units printed on spirit masters, each a reprint of a news article plus learning exercises. By tearing along the perforation, duplicating copies, and distributing them, teachers produce instant "semirealia."

Only a handful of major publishers have dared to challenge the small market and mounting costs by printing supplementary cultural materials. That spirit of bravado is exemplified by works such as Gorden's *Living in Latin America* (57), one of the better sources of contemporary sociocultural information. Tora T. Ladu's *What Makes the Spanish Spanish* (74) and *What Makes the French French* (76) are also useful classroom sourcebooks. Both are written predominantly in English and provide an overview of major cultural themes. For junior and senior high school students Bourque's *The Spanish Teen-ager* (16) is a companion to her previous book on French teen-agers. Pocketsized books on ethnic groups in the United States can be found in the Jubilee Series of Claretian Publications. *The Mexicans in America* (Keunster, 74) is but one of the series; others of interest to teachers focus upon Germans, Italians, Scandinavians, native Americans, Blacks, and the Irish. Written in English, the short books aspire to develop a spirit of compassion and understanding for ethnic or racial minorities in this country.

In *Roman Voices: How the Latins Really Spoke* Esler (39) takes the Latin student into the verbal arena of ancient Rome. Chapters on diverse topics such as "Gladiator Posters" and "Drinking Toasts" combine to make this a unique publication among those released in classical languages.

Workshop materials

Although not widely publicized, excellent cultural materials have been created in summer production workshops. The University of Minnesota's summer workshops abroad are the setting for the creation of fine products, many of which are available from the Foreign Language Curriculum Materials Center at the University of Minnesota. Also, ACTFL recently announced the establishment of a teaching materials center. More precise information regarding its services is available in ACTFL journals.

A short book by Berwald and Wolfe (135) on teaching French via sports is planned for release. Drawing from the language that surrounds French-Canadian football, hockey, and baseball, the book seeks to merge students' high interest in sports with the learning of high frequency—but rarely taught—terminology.

These examples of supplementary cultural materials in printed form demonstrate recent efforts of some companies to fill this small but noticeable void in the field. Most works are in paperback form, are not advertised widely, and are subject to frequent revisions. Gaps still exist in the teaching of Italian, Russian, and Chinese culture, as well as in the numerous neglected language/cultures. This survey uncovered no evidence that efforts are being made to satisfy these needs.

Periodicals

Numerous reputable organizations provide subscription services for language educators. These companies regularly advertise in the major foreign language journals. In the past few years, however, we have seen the demise of several American periodicals, a phenomenon that is equally prevalent in foreign countries. Due to the uncertainty of production and costs, some companies such as the Spanish Language Publications Service (Hammond, 60) have been forced to remove some periodicals from their list of offerings.

Rundschau: An American German Review (116) continues to serve the profession well. Published monthly, September through May, by the National Carl Schurz Association, it features articles in German and English. It is included in the membership packages of several teachers' organizations and is still available at a nominal cost to students or other persons interested in the study of German.

Scholastic Magazines, Inc. continues to offer graded periodicals for classroom use in German, French, and Spanish. Each magazine is published monthly during the school year, and a teacher's edition is supplied with each issue (121).

Two major needs have yet to be met: Teachers need a service that could supply at reduced cost copies of slightly, but not seriously, outdated foreign language periodicals; and teachers could benefit from a service that would familiarize them with the many high-quality foreign language periodicals published in the United States (urban-based magazines in Spanish or German, for example).

Games

Games offer the teacher an effective method for increasing student interest and participation. As Foy (43) indicates, games, when used wisely with a combination of other activities, can help revive the student and even revitalize the program. Lee (83) describes a variety of educational word games suitable for foreign language students of all ages. His book includes oral, pronunciation, spelling, reading, and writing games. Buckby and Grant (19) have grouped games to allow the teacher to locate them in an index that relates the activities to particular language structures.

National Textbook Company (100) offers in French, German, and Spanish a number of puzzle and word game books, including crossword puzzle books in spirit master form. Gessler Publishing Company (53) sells a very large selection of board and card games including "Scrabble" and "Monopoly" in French, German, Italian, Russian, and Spanish. Gessler and Wible Language Institute also markets several books of songs and dances with complete instructions as to performing the native dances. Edelweiss Publication Company (35) advertises a board game, "Deutschlandreise," that helps students learn the names and locations of 280 cities in West and East Germany, as well as other significant geographical features. Lingua-Disc Division (85) provides many games, dances, rhymes, and so forth on record and tape as accompaniment to printed materials. Dramas and short skits that offer lively activities can be purchased from the companies listed above. Audio tapes that bring the necessary theatrics to the printed dramas can often be bought or rented.

Of particular interest to the frugal, adventurous, or creative teacher are the numerous educational German games that are distributed free to members by the German Service Bureau (52), metropolitan book stores that cater to multi-ethnic clientele, and personal "inventing" of language games.

Brief summary of print-dominant materials

Ours is unquestionably a print-dominated field, one in which we currently have a wider selection of materials than ever before. After a hiatus of several years most major textbook publishers are in the process of releasing new basic series for the foreign language classroom. Their optimism is cautiously displayed, however, since few corporations are producing new series in more than one language; during the 1960s some companies announced new textbooks in several languages and even two new basic series in the same language. Those days may be gone forever. Cautious contracting and careful attention to the profession's trends seem to merge to provide teachers with more varied, better planned textbooks that can be implemented in a myriad of classes of diverse design.

Comparing products to areas o professional thinking

As we compare the materials to the delineated trends of the profession, we note that publishers are reacting in a positive manner to trends involving individualized instruction, performance objectives, end-of-lesson (commercial) testing, the teaching of the target culture, and short courses with varied topics. Textbooks and workbooks due to be released this year will begin to reflect strategies derived from "cognitive code" and "communicative competence" philosophies. Also, new series appear to offer a three-volume format rather than the previously common two-book package. Other trends receive no attention or only peripheral attention.

Mixed media

Multisensory approaches to foreign language learning are by no means new. One of the biggest growth areas in education is audiovisual aids, contemporary keys to more personalized and more intensive learning. The pairing of written materials with visual and audio embellishments results in a highly desirable instructional duet that promotes individual learning while maintaining strong continuity between the material to be learned and the mode of learning. As we uncover and apply more information regarding the multisensory preferences of learners, blends of media will play an even greater role in instruction.

In this brief examination of mixed media, we include those materials that, although dependent mainly upon the textbook or printed tool, provide additional aids that are well correlated to the written materials. These nonprint materials support, reinforce, or augment the textbook per se. Without the printed material, the audiovisual materials are not capable of leading the students toward the terminal objectives satisfactorily; with the textbooks, the audiovisual materials assist in reaching the objectives of the instruction. Also, the nonprint materials mentioned in this section are not necessary to provide the minimal or essential information that leads learners toward the learning goals.

Symbiotic or adjunctive programs

We delineate two broad categories within the area of mixed media in foreign languages: *symbiotic* programs and *adjunctive* programs. The latter covers those programs in which the audiovisual materials are dependent upon the textbook's content and format and are subordinate to the print media. The former refers to those materials that have a level of dependence upon each other in order to present competently the essential information. Symbiotic programs are in very short supply today and the individual teacher must construct or orchestrate a curriculum that provides multisensory learning experiences for his students. Adjunctive programs are readily available, and therefore more information on them is presented in this section.

In the opinion of reviewers, one of the few major symbiotic programs used widely is that developed by Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation. The various foreign language titles for this multimedia design are *Je Parle Français* (67), *La Familia Fernández* (41), and *Emilio en España* (38). A closely correlated set of filmstrips, audio tapes, and 16-millimeter color-sound films is used in conjunction with the textbook. The various titles, originally designed for use in secondary schools, are now gaining attention in colleges.

A-LM Series: Second Edition (3) continues to present a program that takes advantage of audio benefits, using tape recordings. Posters linked to dialogue action provide the basic visual support. These materials in Spanish, French, and German continue to provide audiolingual instruction, but the format of the texts is more varied than that of the first edition of the 1960s.

A significant film-text series in German is *Guten Tag* distributed by International Film Bureau, Inc. (65). Similar in design is the same company's intermediate series *Guten Tag Wie Geht's*. Although created for primary usage at the secondary school, it has gained popularity at the undergraduate level. At the University of Oregon the *Guten Tag* series has been used in a program for visually handicapped students. The series has been transformed into a collection of radio plays utilizing tapes, records, and Braille scripts (Malloy and Stehr, 90).

Cassette ascent

The growing reliance on audio cassettes and cassette recorders as the major aural-oral media pairing has led many publishers away from reel-to-reel formats. The benefits of audio cassettes as well as their shortcomings have been pointed out by Frechette (47). In general, their portability, durability, variability, and low cost make them attractive for today's schools. Dozens of companies provide cassette recorders/players that can withstand hard usage in the class. Perhaps the most notable of the new products is AVID Corporation's "FLIP" system (11). Their AAC-100 recorder/player is designed to play a nonerasable master track and an erasable student track without any adjustments being made to the equipment by the student. This two-track capability has provoked the interest and cooperation of Ginn and Company; D. C. Heath; Houghton-Mifflin; McGraw-Hill; Prentice Hall; and Scott, Foresman to the extent that for recent books all provide cassettes that accommodate "FLIP."

Audio and visual packages

EMC Corporation (40) is responsible for the release of exciting multimedia packages in French, Spanish, and German. Although the materials are not designed to replace the full-year textbook, they are the equivalent of major units of instruction. For example, *Eso es,* consisting of 43 short lessons, attempts to create situations as they occur in everyday life in Spain and Latin America. Through the coordinated use of textbook and audio cassettes, students receive lessons in contemporary living (for example, regional foods, train schedules, money exchanges). Good black-and-white drawings, topical grammar summaries, and vocabulary guides are found in the textbook. Teaching suggestions and texts of the tapes plus correct answers to the tests are the basic ingredients of the teacher's edition.

Superior filmstrips join audio cassettes in all three levels of *So sind die Deutschen* (40). Student activity booklets accompany these media in order to fully present lessons on the foreign culture. Similar packages in French and Spanish are available at reasonable cost.

George Borglum Productions (50) takes a much-loved classic, *Le Petit Prince,* and embellishes that work by providing audio tapes, study guides, and film strips. Flexibility in learning is the major feature of this product because students are no longer required to read the work en masse. Learning rates can be accelerated or decelerated by use of the materials by individual students or small groups of pupils.

Students at both the university and high school levels will be well served by Corson Associates' *Initiation Series* (64), a rather major effort by a small company. This series contains complete eight-to-twelve-week courses on major aspects of French, Spanish, and German civilization and formal culture. For example, the units that present introductions to the theater of Germany, France, and Spain contain well-developed course guides, production hints, scripts, and practice audio tapes. Students can actually produce well-known plays in class, complete with costumes and scenery. The course guide leads teacher and students through the entire learning sequence from reading to actual production. The units on civilization and art are dependent upon excellent photographic slides that accompany the printed guides and booklets. Poetry units are complemented by audio cassette tapes that enable the students to investigate the poetic forms in music and nature, analyze selected words, and write original poetry. The materials are easily adaptable to either mini-course formats or the quarter system in colleges.

The Foreign Service Institute of the United States Government (44) continues to be the major source of instructional materials in the neglected languages. Inexpensive texts may be ordered from that office, and audio tapes are now available through the Sales Branch, National Audiovisual Center, GSA, Washington, D.C. 20409.

The only product that was reviewed that combines printed materials with phonograph records is the Australian Broadcasting Commission's *Learn Indonesian* program (9). Elementary-to-intermediate lessons are offered in this package which can be reinforced via lessons that are aired over the national educational radio network.

Print plus TV or radio

The review of available resources in the area of "print plus television or radio" for foreign language instruction has not been very fruitful. Although a number of metropolitan-based educational television channels provide instruction in foreign languages, there was not ample coverage to permit the designation of definite trends.

Research investigating the use of radio and television with accompanying print material reveals that a major deficiency continues to exist. Garfinkel (48) cites the conclusions of several studies over a 38-year span, indicating a need for the development of such materials. According to him, that need has been only modestly addressed.

The renewed interest in foreign language methodology, coupled with a need for linguistically proficient language teachers trained in audiolingual techniques, turned the profession's attention to the airwaves for assistance in the 1960s. As described by Glenn (56), radio broadcasts in French, German, and Spanish at the FLES level were developed for use as the major instructional vehicle in schools where the elementary school teacher was untrained in the new approach to teaching languages. Medard (93) describes a similar program in French via radio.

Quite recently the use of tapes of broadcasts rather than actual broadcasts has gained in popularity; tapes are becoming available from book companies with overseas operations (Durette, 34).

No advertisements of print-plus radio/television series were encountered in the professional literature. There is, in our opinion, no pronounced trend toward either symbiotic or adjunctive use of broadcasts to provide coordinated instruction on a wide geographical basis. Interested teachers can keep abreast of current and anticipated work in the area of airwaves instruction by subscribing to the *LBRIG Newsletter* (81).

Brief summary of mixed-media materials

Flexibility and economy are the major fuels behind the accelerated growth of the cassette recorder and still visuals (slides and filmstrips). These media have the ability to withstand frequent use without appreciable deterioration. They are also logical companions to more student-centered, multisensory, heterogeneous classrooms. Audio recorders and integrated filmstrip projectors or slide projectors reduce to a minimum the amount of training students must undergo to use the equipment.

Video potential

The impact of the video tape cassette has yet to be felt by foreign language educators. The force of this breakthrough will be very strong in the latter half of this decade. Cassettes—audio and video—seem destined to become the major correlates of printed materials in the future.

Nonprint-dominant materials

Complexity and amount of use

The enormity of this area of materials is represented by Figure 1. On a horizontal axis, we place the audio or visual aids—the simplest to the far left and the most complex to the far right. In between we find everything from colored chalk to motion pictures to videotape cartridges. Vertically, a time-depth line permits us to chart the "teaching life span" or intensity of the materials. At the bottom we find the materials that might be used only once and for a few seconds; at the top is the long-term audiovisual learning program. As one might expect, there is a flood of teacher-made materials that are most effective for instruction, though their level of sophistication or time-depth gradation is limited. Horizontally and vertically, teacher-made materials generally wane as both axes approach and reach a central position. That is what one might expect: The more sophisticated the materials and the longer the period of time to be covered, the

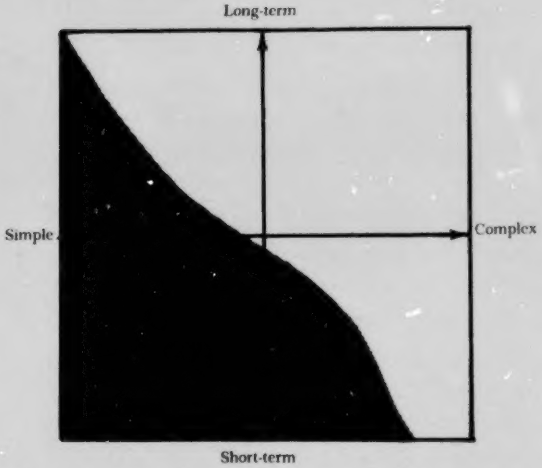

Figure 1. Nonprint-dominant materials and their application
Production is greatest when materials to be used require the use of relatively simple media for periods of time less than one semester.

greater are the needs for production facilities, group production and planning, and funds.

To present current activities in both the commercial and noncommercial domains, we again limit our coverage to samples, or fair representations, of recent materials; to do otherwise would be repetitive and virtually limitless. Thousands of teachers are involved in materials development; scores of embassies and consulates willingly ship visual materials to schools; and dozens of corporations distribute films, slides, filmstrips, and audio materials for profit. Offsetting our inability to provide total coverage, however, are numerous catalogues and audiovisual guides that can be secured by writing directly to the companies, governmental agencies, or to foreign language supervisors.

Films

Realism

Current film and filmstrip releases show an affinity for depicting the daily lives of the target culture. Most of these materials are moving away from flamenco dancers and beret-wearing winetasters to more realistic portrayals of individuals buying groceries or undertaking agricultural duties. *Así son los mexicanos* (8) gives students the opportunity to view authentic, nonglamorized pictures of Spanish-speaking people. The themes for these filmstrip units are changing from "edifice complex" topics to quotidian activities.

International Film Bureau (65) has films of Spain's various geographical regions; other companies that advertise in language journals provide slides of several European countries, giving geographical information about the various sections of each. Similarly, Oxford Films (107) has regional films such as *Carcassonne*, *Fortifications Françaises* (which one might typically expect to find on the film market), as well as newer ones, *Une Ferme Belge-Française* and *Bruges, une Ville Belge-Française*, which portray daily life in Belgium.

Full-length feature films with English subtitles can be ordered in a wide range of subject areas from several large companies. For catalogs, one may write MacMillan Audio Brandon, 34 MacQuesten Parkway South, Mount Vernon, New York 10550, and to the audiovisual division of Baker and Taylor Company, P.O. Box 230, Momence, Illinois 60954.

Of much assistance to French teachers who are engaged in selecting films is Savignon's guide to instructional films (118). The guide contains evaluations of films that are supplied by the University of Illinois Media Service, one of the largest in the nation.

Through its consulates the German Embassy (51) lends a number of audiovisual materials for teachers, educational institutions, and civic groups. There is no rental charge on most materials, including 16-mm. films, tapes, and slides. For evaluation and as an aid to selective purchasing, the Documentation Center of the Teaching Aid Project makes available to teachers a large number of audiovisual materials. A small service contribution is required (101).

Listerman (86) has used "Super 8" films produced by German classes at Miami University, Ohio. He aroused campus-wide interest in German by sponsoring a "German Filmscript Award" contest; the winning entry was filmed and has become part of a growing film library: Niesz (104) offers some technical pointers for producing "Super 8" films, which he finds not only effective for classroom use but also quite economical.

Radio and television

Although several systems for delivering instruction via radio or television were mentioned in the mixed media section of this chapter, some significant efforts have been made to use these aids without relying on other accompanying media.

Live broadcasting

The live radio or television broadcast was used to provide basic instruction in foreign languages during the early 1960s. The programs, however, were lacking in instructional applicability due to their "one-time" presentation. Several educators, among them Felt (42), gave the programs a more useful life span by taping these broadcasts for audio presentations. He supplemented the broadcast with mimeographed sheets or scripts on which students would write appropriate words in blank spaces, thereby providing excellent listening comprehension exercises.

In the late 1960s Nelson (103) used live radio broadcasts as an unrestricted voice of communication to be utilized as a touchstone of the student's competence. The objectives of the lessons were to aid advanced students in the development of a wider less formal vocabulary, to provide listening comprehension practice, and to expand the number of native voices the student heard. Students also had opportunities to "dial-a-language" on the telephone; one of the most popular and effective techniques was the recording of a daily seven-minute broadcast of news from France. The broadcast was audiotaped from live newscasts received via shortwave radio. During the first year of operation approximately 14,000 calls were made (Nelson, 102). In 1973 Nelson (103) offered a course using radio called "Things in French." His students prepared and produced 15-minute programs on subjects and events in French political, social, literary, or cultural history. The lessons were broadcasted on WILL-TV, the University of Illinois educational station.

A radio program entitled *El eco español* was produced and designed by Garfinkel and Litt (49). This series of 32 radio programs was broadcast on two stations in Columbus, Ohio, and was designed for the second level of college Spanish classes. The programs consist of songs, mathematical problems, jokes, folk music, proverbs, stories–in other words, everything one might find in a live radio program.

In 1974 foreign language classrooms at the University of Massachusetts were enlivened by Berwald's use of televised football games from Quebec (Wolfe, 135). Videotapes and audio cassettes were accompanied by mimeographed guides to new vocabulary, thus enabling students to learn French while feeling the emotional charge conveyed by competition in sports. Also, programs such as "Bonanza" were used as a stimulus for the writing of compositions. Similarly, many schools and universities use television commercials from foreign countries to teach students the language, gestures, and attitudes of the target group. Audio recordings of commercials in German are offered by an alliance of Swiss and American businessmen. These commercials bring well-prepared materials to the teacher at low cost (79).

Because the series is of primary interest to children, teachers might overlook as a beneficial tool for teaching Spanish *Villa alegre*, the Bilingual Children's Television Project's offering. It can serve as an "in-home" aid to language learning for older students since the imaginative, varied, lively programs strive to emphasize cultural differences between Spanish-speaking Americans and non-Spanish-speaking Americans from a positive point of view. This, and other bilingual programs, bring language usage outside of the classroom walls and portray it as it exists. Teachers should not overlook the possibility of assigning these programs to students as required viewing.

Assorted media

Protective packaging is a feature of three relatively new audiovisual formats: audio cassette tapes, video tape cassettes, and carousel or cube dispensers of slides. Language educators have been slow in applying "Super 8" cartridges, four-track audio cartridges, and encased filmstrips. However, all of these instructional formats can now be used in the classroom with a minimum of "set-up" activities and a decrease in the number of ways in which the teacher or student can injure the product. The major task is the actual planning and production of the material, selecting the commercial materials, and applying them as necessary.

Videotaped methodology lessons

Busse (22) has produced videotaped lessons for use in college language methods courses. In addition, she has manufactured color slides, overhead transparencies, and posters to teach such varied points as the subjunctive mood, demonstrative adjectives, and family relationships. Jenks (68) has written and directed videotaped skits that present models of dialectic usages in Chile and Columbia. The tapes follow the cultural mini-skit format and are directed toward Spanish majors at the university level who receive little or no exposure to regional dialects.

Videotaped dialectic mini-dramas

Several language educators have used the computer to assist students in learning various aspects of the foreign language. The PLATO system, which has been so effectively incorporated in Scanlan's teaching of Latin, continues to be the most comprehensive application of computer-assisted instruction. Grundlehner (59) reports that in the past two years four major computer-assisted programs in German have been developed at the Urbana-Champaign campus of the University of Illinois. PLATO programs in foreign languages are now available in German, French, Chinese, Italian, Japanese, Russian, ESL, Hebrew, and Esperanto. On a smaller scale, some teachers have produced programs that touch upon discrete grammatical points, among them Andrews' "Gigi" program in basic French (6).

The computer as tutor

Several obvious factors impede computer applications at the secondary school level, among them, the high cost of computer rental, the expenses involved with developing programs for the computer, and the flexible boundaries of acceptable language usage.

Teacher-made products are of higher quality in design than they were previously, due largely to the abundance of products that minimize difficulties in lettering, coloring, and distributing materials. Such simple products as Artype's (7) dry transfer lettering kits eliminate the need for talent or training to fabricate "professional" visual aids. Master transparency kits, copying products for producing spirit masters and overhead transparencies by using the office copying machine, and inexpensive procedures for developing filmstrips from slides or for duplicating slides provide teachers with new ways to apply their creative talents without having to invest inordinate amounts of time.

The term *diffuse* best describes the status of nonprint materials for teaching foreign languages. The fact that large publishing and production companies have shied away from creating long-term, multimedia, integrative programs has not stunted the growth of short-term, multimedia, nonintegrative materials. The wider selection of items coordinates well with the growing

Diffuse materials

belief among teachers that media variations enhance instruction. Indeed, to prevent teachers from suffocating in the avalanche of available materials, many organizations such as Educators Progress Service (36) produce guides to free materials as well as tips on producing "in-school" aids, thereby catering to those who call for more and better instructional options.

Conclusions of the survey

The review of materials permits some general conclusions regarding the correlation between professional thinking and contemporary materials. Handicapped as we were by the continuing inaccessibility of teacher-made products and a mere 35 percent response to our written requests for review copies of retail materials, the reliability and validity of our conclusions may be limited. Furthermore, articles in journals and conference speeches strive to bring the most current thinking before the profession. Obviously the retail outlets require many months or years to respond to new requests. This "soaking-in" period permits commercial enterprises to assess carefully the depth and longevity of a new movement. Large corporations must, of necessity, dismiss short-lived fads in education in favor of more enduring, more widely based trends. For the first time in many years a buyer's market exists, and the abundance of foreign language teaching materials substantiates the current shift of power toward the consumer. But the maintenance of that situation is dependent upon the profession's willingness to make sound and honorable requests for new supplies to the producers.

Examining the trends that were noted in the review of recent professional journals and major conferences, we conclude that materials relate to those trends as follows:

A competent performance counts

1 *Performance/competency-based education*
Definite inroads have been made, as reflected in the more carefully organized instructional guides for both teachers and students. Major textbook series now pay careful attention to the relationships between objectives, content, performance, and evaluation. However, no series was reviewed that set specific criteria for determining the qualitative level of student performance; that decision continues to be made by the instructor.

2 *Well-developed evaluation instruments*

Tests included

We see many examples of textbooks that are accompanied by tests that examine the extent to which the printed material has been learned by students. Commercial tests of basic content are better than they were in the past; however, there is still ample room for improvement, especially in the aural-oral areas.

3 *Affective operations*

No effect on affective materials

No major examples that seek to strengthen noncognitive areas of learning via textbook exercises or values-oriented content were identified. Small touches, however, such as better photographic representations of natives, inclusion of reprints of news items (for example, obituaries, marriage notices) as well as "human relations" units are attempts to portray the native speakers as real and equal partners in the global enterprise of living.

4 *Individualizing and personalizing instruction*

Individualization arrives

Major breakthroughs in this area are very conspicuous. Teachers' guides, individualized study packets, multiple modes of presentation of lessons, and so on, lead us to conclude that positive advances toward learner-centered education are being made by commercial organizations.

5 *Teaching the foreign culture*

Up with culture

Contemporary lifestyles are being portrayed in fragmentary ways in some textbooks and in a more organized manner in others. Supplementary materials in all media groupings are zeroing in on this highly interesting and very integral facet of language study.

6 *Teaching cultural aspects derived from multi-ethnic groups within the United States and environs*

Ethnic emptiness

The upsurge in readers containing material pertaining to French-speaking Canada, Mexico, and the Caribbean islands is quite evident. However, with the exception of a few minor publications on Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and Cuban language usage and culture (80), and scattered items such as a record of Pennsylvania Dutch songs and sayings (32), little is apparently being produced.

7 *Vocational and career education*

Unemployment in career education?

Numerous short manuals are available from some small companies. But no trend in production or content is evident. Vocational and career opportunities for the average student appear to be enhanced in only a secondary manner by his attainment of a high school proficiency in a second language. This will not be a significant growth area in materials except in selected school systems or geographical regions.

8 *Transformational and generative grammars*

No transformation generated

Translating linguistic theory into classroom practice has never been an easy task. We reviewed no materials whose contents reflected the tenets of contemporary grammatical theories.

9 *Humanizing education*

Humanizing education overlooked

Except for a few state-sponsored guides, the personalizing of communication strategies in selected textbooks, and a handful of supplementary print and multimedia offerings, efforts to humanize education have remained the domain of the teacher.

10 *Deviating from the full-semester course structure*

Short courses

The bulk of supplementary materials reviewed and the infrastructure of many recent textbooks indicate that the topical articulated short course or "stretched" unit has gained respectability. Further manipulation of the time-length schedules should continue if today's materials are any barometer for tomorrow's classroom organization.

11 *The teacher as diagnostician and prescriber*

Teacher knows best

The variety of materials can be construed as a realization of the role of the teacher as the determiner of content, method, format, and purchases.

12 *Growth of teacher-made materials*

"Productive" teachers

It is difficult to determine whether teachers produce more materials than they did 15 years ago. Obviously there are more production aids at their disposal today. Our review leads us to believe that, whereas countless numbers of teachers "make" materials, much of that produced is derived from published materials . . . a form of benevolent plagiarization. There is evidence that teachers are making more; there is little evidence that teachers are creating more.

13 *Variety in course titles, contexts, and content*
A definite trend in foreign language materials is represented by the plethora of supplementary materials in all media classifications.

Additional materials

14 *Decline in the one-textbook series or one-method format*
The trend is not away from using one textbook series, but rather toward selective implementation and supplementation. Textbook series are moving toward a three-volume sequence that covers up to five years of instruction. No single textbook series appears to dominate in any of the modern languages.

An "open-book field"

15 *Communicative competence*
If a recent textbook filled with communicative exercises exists, it was not uncovered. The "soaking-in" period must transpire first, during which we shall probably see an increase in workbooks and other guides in print form, leading ultimately to a textbook containing exercises that exemplify this philosophy and its techniques.

Slow to communicate

16 *Cognitive-code theory*
Evidence is scant that cognitive-code strategies have a visible effect on most products. Small breakthroughs in chapter designs, the sequencing of explanations, and the construction of exercises signal that textbook writers and publishers are taking this theory into consideration on occasion.

Breaking the cognitive code

Some of our professional trends are either hollow or short-lived. Others are clearly with us for the duration of this decade, if not longer. Most certainly, those movements that place the learner at center stage will experience continued growth. Also, performance objectives, accountability, and more precise evaluation are here to stay. Expansion of retail materials will be great in many areas: still visuals (slides and filmstrips); audio and video cassettes; readers; printed supplementary materials. We should not anticipate a landslide of new textbooks, due to the economy, the contraction of government subsidies for foreign language education, and the profession's unwillingness to embrace a single philosophy or subsequent methodology.

Foreign language education has become a participant in the process of "natural selection." If teachers cannot currently find what they want or need to assist their students, patience should bring satisfaction. If the products that teachers want are not forthcoming, they are free to produce their own materials; if teachers do not like today's textbooks, they can choose not to use them by substituting a mixture of materials. No longer do teachers operate under the cloud that hardware–machines–will replace them; they are willingly relinquishing their "source authority" posture in favor of software–the instructional materials.

Teachers have many new responsibilities along with a new freedom. The freedom to choose can easily be usurped if too many individuals choose unwisely. Because commercial producers of materials are indeed beginning to respond to the expressed needs of the profession, we must wait to see whether we teachers will select wisely from the store of new materials that we previously requested.

Perhaps the test of a philosophical position is whether it withstands the weathering effect of time. Those trends that reflect a philosophy or theory proposed by the professional spokesman are slow to be translated into materials and textbooks. The leap from theory to practice in education requires that teachers first acquire a knowledge or acceptance of the theory and its applications prior to presenting new formats of instruction to students. At this point in time writers and publishers are beginning to take seriously the requests of the profession-at-large.

The years ahead should be viewed by foreign language teachers as being potentially vibrant ones. The earlier frustration that the profession lacked direction is waning. We are on the brink of accepting the fact that we have many directions–much freedom–and that we are not restricted if we feel a need to shift direction on the basis of new discoveries, perceived social and economic realities, and students' requests.

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5

The new student role: Individual differences and implications for instruction

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Introduction

A fundamental change is occurring in the educational process: Every encounter between teacher and learner involves an exchange of information; formerly the teacher initiated the exchange and now it is initiated by the student. It involves radical change in perspective. In the past a teacher communicated a message–often the same message–to all students who were subsequently evaluated on their ability to understand its meaning and were often ranked according to the various approximations or the "match" they could provide to the initial message. Presently, however, students are providing the first input into the teaching-learning situation–in the form of individual differences–and the teacher must interpret the information and provide differentiated environments to "match" these differences. The purpose of this chapter is to describe this first "act" of the student and the corresponding "response" of the teacher, that is, to describe individual differences that matter in the instructional process and teachers' implicit and explicit adaptations to these differences. Emphasis is placed upon two dimensions of individual differences that matter critically in the teaching-learning process–learning styles and learning strategies.

A fundamental change

Students provide first "input"

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We begin with an historical perspective of adapting instruction to individual differences, analyze teachers' intuitive adaptation, discuss factors teachers will need to consider once they have decided to adapt instruction to student characteristics, present a procedure teachers might use to adapt to one dimension of individual differences—students' learning styles—and conclude with an analysis of students' learning strategies.

Brief overview

An historical perspective

The concept of adapting instruction to individual differences is not new. In the 16th century Montaigne noted the adverse effect that a nonadaptive environment had upon the majority of students.

Sixteenth century: Montaigne

> If teachers, according to our common way, undertake with one and the same lesson and a similar standard of guidance to govern a number of minds so diverse in their measure and shape, it is no wonder if in a whole multitude of children they scarcely find two or three who bear away any good fruit from their instruction (Zeitlin, 101, p. 131).

A century later Locke (65) in his *Thoughts Concerning Education* viewed teaching as a process of adapting instruction to student characteristics.

Seventeenth century: Locke

> Some Men by the unalterable Frame of their Constitutions are Stout, others Timorous, some Confident, others Modest, Tractable, or Obstinate, Curious or Careless, Quick or Slow. There are not more Differences in Men's Faces, and the outward Lineaments of their Bodies, than there are in the Makes and Tempers of their Minds. . . . Begin therefore betimes nicely to observe your Son's Temper. . . See what are his Predominant Passions, and prevailing Inclinations; whether he be Fierce or Mild, Bold or Bashful, Compassionate or Cruel, Open or Reserved. For as these are different in him, so are your Methods to be different, and your Authority must hence take measures to apply it self different ways to him (pp. 206–07).

Twentieth century: Bruner

Bruner (11) nearly a decade ago expressed a similar view of the educative process:

> Individual differences . . . exist in massive degree. . . . [Students differ] in the degree of their interest, in the skills that they bring to any concrete task, in their preferred mode of representing things, in their ability to move easily through any particular sequence, and in the degree to which they are initially dependent upon extrinsic reinforcement from the teacher. The fact of individual differences argues for pluralism and for an enlightened opportunism in the materials and methods of instruction. . . . A curriculum . . . must contain many tracks leading to the same goal (p. 71).

A message unheeded

The message of Bruner, Locke, and Montaigne has still not been systematically implemented in our schools. Cronbach (17) reports that adapting to individual differences has meant altering administrative arrangements rather than instructional techniques. To preserve an "ideal curriculum" and to transmit it to the "majority" of students we altered the pace and goals of instruction and provided remediation for less able students. The primary function of adaptation was to maintain a curriculum rather than to enhance the learning of *all* students. Goodlad (27) views the "limiting, classificatory contrivances and practices such as ability groups, achievement levels, grade skipping, and nonpromotion" as attempts "to 'organize away' the stark realities of individual differences" (p. 28).

Individual teachers adapt

While "the best method" in many subject-matter areas was being uniformly applied in many classrooms, some teachers were responding to the needs of individual students. During the heyday of audiolingualism some foreign language teachers allowed students to keep their books open during the prereading period because they noticed that they could not answer questions with books closed; they allowed other students to write down the words they heard because "they could remember them better that way"; they wrote directions for grammar exercises in English because some students could not understand them in the foreign language and would therefore get some items "wrong" because they would not know what they were being asked to do.

Today, a Spanish teacher who is individualizing instruction may allow several students to learn in the traditional way because they are continually frustrated when left on their own. He consciously disregards the complaint made by one student that a vocabulary list is too long—"You'll finish that in no time"—and directs her to an additional list of related words in the dictionary; he shortens the same assignment for another student and spends a few minutes teaching him how to find the meaning of the words he does not remember. Thus, Montaigne's message has in fact been implemented during the past four centuries and is being implemented today by individual teachers' intuitive adaptations to students' needs.

Analysis of teachers' intuitive adaptation

Variation among teachers

Intuitive spontaneous adapting to student characteristics varies considerably from teacher to teacher: Some teachers change approach more frequently with different students than do other teachers; some change approach more effectively; some teachers adapt often within a short time span while other teachers adapt over a much longer period of time; some teachers adapt to students' immediate needs while other teachers adapt to their long-term developmental needs (Cronbach, 17).

"Student pull"

Wide variation in teachers' adaptive behavior appears to be a function of teachers' differential susceptibility to the phenomenon of "student pull." One can get a feeling of what is meant by "student pull" by reflecting upon the following examples: Consider how your response to a child who asks you a question would differ from your response to the same question when asked by an adult. Consider how a teacher's behavior in a college class differs from that of a teacher in a primary class (Hunt, 48).

While in the past we have tended to view the teaching-learning process as exerting a one-way effect upon the student, while we have viewed the interaction between teacher and student in terms of "teacher effects," the dyadic interaction may in reality be bidirectional rather than unidirectional with student characteristics exerting their own "effect" or "pull" upon teacher behavior.

The results of several investigations support the hypothesis

Research supports student-pull hypothesis

that student characteristics influence the behavior of teachers (Hunt 48). Teachers produced more words, shorter sentences, and greater repetition with youngsters of low verbal ability than with youngsters of high verbal ability (Siegel and Harkins, 86); they produced more interdependent statements (statements that help students to theorize and to express themselves) with high-conceptual-level students than with low-conceptual-level students (Rathbone, 78); they emitted higher-level-information statements with elementary-grade students than with primary-grade students (Joyce, et al., 58); they made clarification statements in response to positive student reaction and made critical and directional statements in response to negative student reaction (Klein, 62).

Measuring adaptive skill

Several tasks have been developed to investigate variation in teachers' susceptibility to student pull (Hunt, 39). Each task is a microteaching situation in which a communicator (teacher) is given 12 to 15 minutes to communicate a concept to a role-playing listener (student). The "teacher" is given information about the objective of the task, the concept to be communicated, and the "student." During the "lesson" attention is focused upon the teacher's response or adaptations to obstacles that are systematically introduced into the conversation by the role-player (who is indicating his misunderstanding of the concept the teacher is attempting to communicate). The teacher's skill in "reading" the student's difficulty and in "modulating" (adapting) his presentation appropriately is evaluated by the following Adaptability Index:

Scale rating	*Behavioral referent*
1	Completely insensitive
3	Aware of obstacle, but does not modulate
5	Aware of obstacle, makes some attempt to modulate
7	Shifts and modulates presentation in flexible fashion
9	Modulates and explores for more information from learner's frame of reference (Hunt, 39, p. 330)

Prototype communication task

The prototype communication task requires the communicator to explain the concept of the balance of power in the United States government to the role player, "George Lopez," a Venezuelan immigrant who wants to understand the concept in order to pass a citizenship examination. As the communicator presents the concept, "George" introduces five obstacles at appropriate moments. The following examples of reactions to two obstacles will illustrate the response variation among communicators:

Obstacle: "The judges are like priests . . . they tell us what's right and wrong."

Low (scored 1)	*High (scored 7)*
"No, they're not like priests because they're appointed to the Supreme Court by the President and must be approved by the legislature."	"In a sense, that's true, but they have no religious power, it doesn't matter what religion they are, but they do tell us what's right and wrong according to the Constitution."

Obstacle: "This sounds like it takes a long time . . . wouldn't it be better to have a revolution?"

Low (scored 2)	*High (scored 9)*
"No, no, why did you say revolution? I noticed that your country has been plagued by revolutions. But you see, the Constitution of the United States with these three separate branches of power is the longest standing written constitution in the world."	"It might be simpler, but I don't know that the results would be as good, what do you think? In your country do you have revolutions? Was the country better off after the revolution?" (Hunt, 39, pp. 330-31)

Adaptive behaviors of foreign language teachers

Based on the prototype task, a communication task was developed to assess the adaptive behaviors of a group of foreign language teachers enrolled in a Master's program at the State University of New York at Buffalo. The objective of the task was to communicate the concept of adapting instruction to student characteristics. Several obstacles introduced by the role-playing "traditional teacher" were: "A learning environment—is that like a lesson plan?" "Is learning style the way a student thinks?" (Hosenfeld, 35). Similar to the responses made to obstacles in the prototype task (Hunt, 39), the responses of some teachers consisted of delivering "unremitting mini-lectures" on the benefits of adapting instruction while remaining completely unaware of the listener. Other teachers were aware of the obstacles but were unable to modulate their presentations accordingly; many teachers sought appropriate information from the "learner's" frame of reference but failed to use it in adapting. A special feature of the task is the similarity between the predetermined obstacles and obstacles that are naturally introduced by non-role-playing fellow teachers. Since the "lesson" can be enacted simply by engaging another teacher in a conversation and bringing up the topic of adapting instruction, the exercise is a useful training device for developing teachers' adaptive skills.

What is the size of the unit of adaptation?

The size of the unit:

A decision to adapt instruction involves consideration of many factors (Lesser, 64). For example, a decision will have to be made concerning the size of the unit—whether adaptation will be to one student, several students, one class, several classes, one school, or several schools.

One student

Several students

One class

Several classes

A Spanish teacher who notices that a student learns better by listening to stories than he does by reading them may decide to adapt the modality of the material to allow the student to process information through his preferred sensory "channel" (Sperry, 87; Woolson, 96). A French teacher observing that several students respond differently to teacher feedback—one works well under conditions of feeling-oriented feedback while the other works better with task-oriented feedback—may decide to match the type of feedback to the students' motivational orientations (French, 24). A Russian teacher observes that some students enjoy the culture presentations while other students are "turned off" by them. Further inquiry reveals that the latter group of students finds it difficult to view Russians as "similar to Americans." Because their value orientation makes them unreceptive to culture lessons focusing on similarities between the two cultures, the teacher may decide to adapt a noncomparative approach to these students because it would be more likely to fall within their "latitude of acceptance." On the level of larger groups several foreign language teachers, who are responsible for a large number of students, may decide to group them according to their learning styles (Hunt et al., 51; Olson, 74). In addition, alternative schools—varying in degree of structure—may provide students with a choice of learning environment (Dunn and Dunn, 19; Hunt, 40; Hunt et al., 50).

Several schools

What is the time unit involved?

A second consideration in the process of adaptation is the time unit or scale of adaptation. A new decision and adaptation are made every few minutes in "microadaptation" while in "macroadaptation" a decision is made and a treatment prescribed for a much longer period of time (Cronbach, 17).

The time unit

Microadaptation is exemplified by the communication tasks described in the preceding section and by a response technique advocated by Jarvis (54, 55). Instead of the nonadaptive response we usually make to a student fumbling for an answer to a question, instead of the response prescribed for years by textbooks ("go to another student and then return with the same question"—a practice that branded the student a "dummy" in front of his peers), Jarvis suggests that the teacher "read" the student and "modulate" the environment to attain both cognitive and affective goals in the teacher–student interaction. Whenever the teacher's question is followed by silence, the teacher "reads" the student's particular difficulty—perhaps he doesn't understand the question—and then "modulates" an appropriate environment repeating the question, translating it, rephrasing it, and so on. If the teacher "reads" the student's difficulty as an inability to formulate the answer, the teacher "modulates" a different environment—visual cues, prompting, answering the question himself but with slightly different wording. The purpose of the teacher's microadaptations is to give the student an opportunity to formulate his own unique answer to the question.

Microadaptation

Macroadaptation may consist of assessing the learning styles of a group of foreign language students and developing appropriate environments varying in degree of structure. Once a student's learning style has been assessed and an appropriate environment selected, the student remains in that environment until developmental change (or some other factor) indicates a need for a different environment. Additional examples of macroadaptation are suggested by Nostrand and Gougher. Nostrand (72) suggests that at the beginning of the school year each stu-

Macroadaptation

dent might be allowed to select a particular area of interest and personify that area for the rest of the course. Each student, for example, could represent a different French-speaking country for an entire semester (Nwako, 73). Gougher (28, 29) proposes that programs presently individualizing instruction might offer alternative goals from which students could select; he adds that the goals could be linked to community needs.

Which individual differences are amenable to adaptation?

Many individual difference dimensions

A teacher must decide upon the individual differences upon which he should focus. Sullivan (89) reflects upon the magnitude of this task:

> The problem for the teacher and curriculum planner lies in choosing from the vast array of individual differences those characteristics which are educationally relevant. The complexity of the enterprise, no doubt, discourages many from even attacking the task in practical educational settings . . . (p. 193).

Ask one question

An examination of the psychological and educational literatures on individual differences will reveal a plethora of material. A teacher can reduce this surplus of information to one percent of the initial volume simply by asking the following question: What student differences are described in terms relating to what teachers can *do* with students possessing differing characteristics? Hunt and Sullivan (49) state that to be useful to teachers in their day-to-day interaction with students, information about student characteristics must be explicitly coordinated with teaching approaches.

To help teachers to select educationally relevant individual differences and to adapt instruction to these differences, Hunt (45, 46) proposes an analytic system in which the learner is viewed in terms of "accessibility characteristics" (see Table 1). The term *accessibility characteristic* is coextensive with the terms *individual difference* and *student characteristic*, but an accessibility characteristic has the added meaning of being explicitly coordinated with a specific teaching approach from which the student is most likely to benefit. Hunt suggests the following accessibility characteristics.

Environments match characteristics

TABLE 1. Accessibility characteristics and optimal learning environments designed to meet students' immediate learning needs[1]

Accessibility characteristic	Optimal environment
Cognitive orientation	*Degree of structure*
Low conceptual level	High
Intermediate conceptual level	Moderate
High conceptual level	Low
Motivational orientation	*Form of feedback and reward*
High social approval	Extrinsic reward and/or normative feedback
High intrinsic motivation	Intrinsic reward and/or self-defined feedback
Value orientation	*Value context of presentation*
Varies with student	Within "latitude of acceptance"
Sensory orientation	*Modality of presentation*
Ear-minded	Auditory
Eye-minded	Visual

[1] Adapted from Hunt (45, p. 75).

Vary structure with conceptual level

Students who differ on the individual difference dimensions will also differ in their susceptibility or receptiveness to different instructional approaches. For example, a low-conceptual-level student (concrete learner, impulsive, short attention span, poor tolerance for frustration) would benefit most from a highly structured environment (specific step-by-step instructions, short-term goals and deadlines, visuals, and objects he can see and touch). An intermediate-conceptual-level student (concerned with rules, dependent on authority, oriented to the role of "a good student"–one who gets the right answers, has neat work and good work habits) needs a moderately structured environment (specific daily instructions, teacher-student interaction that provides the contact he desires and the impetus to continue). A high-conceptual-level student (inquiring, self-assertive, questioning, aware of many alternatives) would learn most effectively in an environment of low structure (weekly rather than daily requirements, many topics from which to select).

Additional accessibility characteristics

Impulsive/reflective

Additional accessibility characteristics have been identified by other researchers. For example, students differ in terms of their impulsiveness. Kagan (59) reports that while some students reflect over the adequacy of their responses to learning tasks, other students, of equal intelligence, consistently fail to take time to consider the accuracy of their answers before reporting them. The latter group of students (impulsive learners) derive little benefit from the apparently accepted teaching procedure of calling upon the first student who raises his hand to answer a question. The impulsive student can profit, however, when the teacher helps him to focus his attention upon his habitual minimal inspection of answers and teaches him to reflect upon the adequacy of his responses as do his more successful peers (Cashdan and Lee, 15; Glaser, 26; Messick, 67; Tyler, 91).

Field dependent/independent

Two cognitive-style variables have been investigated in foreign language settings. One of these is field dependence/independence (Cashdan and Lee, 15; Messick, 67; Tyler, 91; Witkin et al., 93; Witkin et al., 94). Naiman et al. (71) have observed that some foreign language learners (field-independent students) focus readily upon the language stimuli that are relevant to the task at hand (Rubin, 83) while other students (field-dependent) appear to be so dependent upon and distracted by all stimuli presented to them that they are often unable to select the appropriate cues for attention. Naiman (68, 69) concludes that if we want many of the field-dependent students to succeed in our language classes, we will have to eliminate as many of the irrelevant and distracting cues as possible.

Broad categorizer/narrow

The second cognitive-style variable involves breadth of category formation (Messick, 67; Tyler, 91). Naiman et al. (71) report that some language learners are broad categorizers while others are narrow categorizers. A broad categorizer constructs very broad generalizations about the second language under which he subsumes many examples, a number of which may not fit or are only vaguely related; a narrow categorizer makes very fine distinctions so that each example has its own rule. Naiman (69) reports that efforts are presently being made to provide different environments for these two distinct types of learners.

Naiman et al. (71) conclude from their research that we are presently labeling many of our students as "poor language learners" merely because we have placed them in environments that do not match their particular characteristics; in a great many cases, they note, our "successful language learners" do not necessarily possess superior language aptitude but find themselves in learning environments ideally suited to their individual learning styles or personality characteristics.

Rate of processing

An accessibility characteristic that is particularly relevant to second language learning is the rate at which students can process the new language. By using compressed or expanded speech, foreign language teachers can not only accommodate their students' initial processing capacity but can also gradually increase that capacity to that of a native listener of the language (Flaherty, 23; Lowe, 66).

A second way to select differences

Because so few individual differences have been explicitly coordinated with specific teaching methods, a second approach a foreign language teacher might take in selecting student characteristics is to search the psychological, educational, and foreign language literatures for student characteristics that are relevant to foreign language learning; he might then use his ingenuity in adapting instruction to these characteristics.

The following individual difference dimensions are particularly relevant to second language learning: Second language learners have different modes of learning vocabulary (for example, synonyms, similar words, exemplars, ostensive definitions) (Papalia, 75); vary in their ability to use the second language as a separate reference system and to function exclusively within it (Naiman et al., 71; Stern, 88); use different decoding and encoding strategies to obtain meaning (Naiman, 70); differ in their preferred mode of representing things (for example, visualizers and nonvisualizers) (Bernstein, 6; Reinert, 79, 80, 81; Sperry, 87); vary in their empathic capacity (Brown, 10; Guiora, 30; Naiman, et al., 71); vary in availability of prerequisite learnings (Ausubel, 4; Gagné, 25; Phillips, 76); differ in their attitudes (Cooke, 16; Gagné, 25; Hancock, 31; Hosenfeld, 38), their tolerance of ambiguity (Ausubel, 4; Naiman et al., 71), introversion-extroversion (Brown, 10; Naiman, 68; Naiman et al., 71), and self-concept (Yamamoto, 97).

Whose definition shall I implement?

Many definitions of learning style

An intent to adapt instruction to a particular student characteristic (for example, to students' learning styles) may involve an additional decision about whose conceptualization or definition of learning style to implement.

Dunn's definition

Dunn and Dunn (19) define learning style as "the manner in which at least 18 different elements from four basic stimuli affect a person's ability to absorb and retain" (p. 275). They hypothesize that the four basic categories of stimuli that affect how well a student learns are the physical environment, the emotional framework in which a person is functioning, the sociological setting, and the person's own physical being and needs (Dunn and Dunn, 18, 19). The environmental factors include sound, light, temperature, and design. Some students can function effectively in spite of surrounding noise; other students can adjust to certain kinds of sounds; a larger group appears to require virtual silence if concentration is required or if the task is difficult. The lighting required by one student is often either excessive or insufficient for other students. Some require a warm environment to study; others can function well only in a cool area. Some students need a formal study area such as a library or a kitchen; other students require a relaxed setting and find that they can study for an extended period of time only when the furniture and surroundings are informal.

Environmental factors

Emotional factors

The emotional elements of learning style include motivation, responsibility, persistence, and need for structure. The unmotivated, irresponsible, unpersistent student who needs much structure requires close supervision, short assignments, and frequent encouragement. Conversely, the motivated, responsible, persistent student who needs little structure requires an environment that permits him to self-pace, interact with peers, and self-schedule activities—an environment that promotes independence and self-regulated growth. The sociological elements involve various interactive patterns: Some students learn best studying alone; others need to interact with an authority figure; another group profits more from studying with peers. The physical factors of learning style include sensory orientations and

Sociological factors

Physical factors

need for food, mobility, and optimal time of day. While some students learn better through hearing and others by experiencing visually what is learned, another group experiences difficulty without actual or kinesthetic involvement. A fourth group of students can function well regardless of the modality through which information is processed. Some students require "intake" at regular intervals: They need to eat, drink, chew gum, or bite on objects while engaged in the learning process. The time when a student is most alert and most able to learn varies with individual students: Some work better early in the morning while others are "night owls." The need for mobility is an important learning-style factor for some students: Some cannot remain in a restricted area for long periods of time while others find that constant movement inhibits learning. Dunn and Dunn (19) propose that assessing a student's learning style involves consideration of all of these factors.

Fredonia: learning style profiles

In the Fredonia Central School District in Fredonia, New York, learning-style profiles are used to design learning experiences for students (77). A learning-style profile indicates a student's preferred sensory modality, his preference for theoretical symbols (words or numbers) or qualitative symbols (feelings, commitments, and values) in deriving meaning from the environment, his preference of social influences (whether he seeks meaning from persons in authority positions, the family group, or his peers, or derives meaning from symbols based on his personal perceptions), and his characteristic reasoning pattern (the forms of inference he uses in processing information) (5). Woolson (96) reports that as a result of using learning-style profiles:

> 1 Teachers are more comfortable with differences in themselves and in their students;
> 2 Students' attitudes are less hostile; they are more willing to admit they cannot do something;
> 3 Teachers' perceptions of students are more complex and more positive; there is not as much labeling and stereotyping.
> 4 The distance between teacher and student is diminished by enabling the teacher to work as an informed facilitator (p. 2).

Woolson also notes several disadvantages. The profiles require considerable work as well as expensive and difficult teacher training. They do not deal directly with skills, motivation, or interests. Furthermore, this experimental project involves a complex symbolic system that is intimidating to many people.[1]

Hill: cognitive-style mapping

The instrument used at Fredonia—a "card sort" instrument (13) that classifies each student on 23 separate behaviors—is based upon the research of Hill who introduced the term *cognitive-style mapping* in the early 1950s. Cognitive-style mapping is a procedure by which a student's most comfortable manner of learning is assessed (for example, visual versus auditory, independently versus in a group). This year the American Educational Sciences Association's annual convention was devoted to the topic of cognitive-style mapping. At the fifth four-day convention, held in Southfield, Michigan, sessions included workshops for beginners, in which the concept was introduced and scoring procedures were described, and advanced seminars with Hill in which ongoing research and dissertations were discussed.[2]

Hunt's definition

A fourth conceptualization of learning style is provided by Hunt (43), who defines the term as students' need for varying degrees of structure.[3] Hunt's conceptualization of learning style is presented in detail in the following section.

Commonalities

Certain commonalities emerge from the various definitions of learning style. Adapting instruction to students' learning style usually includes varying the structure of the environment, the modality of the material, and the sociological setting in order to meet students' needs.

Who will be the agent of adaptation?

A teacher must decide upon the agent of adaptation, that is, whether the teacher or the student himself should assess the particular characteristic and select the appropriate environment. Several educators advocate self-assessment and self-matching (Atwood, 3; Fantini, 22; Zampogna, 98).

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[1] Information about the Fredonia project can be obtained from Carl Olson, Assistant Superintendent for Curriculum, Fredonia Central School District, Fredonia, New York 14063.

[2] A 300-item learning-style bibliography is available for $4.00 from the American Educational Sciences Association, 2480 Opdyke Road, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan 48013 (21).

[3] An 88-item learning-style (conceptual-level) bibliography including a list of current and completed dissertations and theses is available from David E. Hunt, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 252 Bloor West, Toronto, Ontario, M5S1V5 (42).

Environments: teacher selected, student selected

A procedure that would help students to assess their learning style and to select an appropriate learning environment was implemented in a study by Zampogna (99, 100). One hundred and fifty-four high school students in four Level-two Spanish classes and four Level-three French classes experienced both a nonadaptive or "selective" environment and an adaptive environment, each for a period of one semester. At the end of the study students were asked to indicate their preference for and felt need for either environment. Forty-four percent of the students had a preference for and felt a need for an adaptive environment; 41 percent indicated a preference for and a need for a nonadaptive environment; and 15 percent preferred an adaptive environment but expressed need for a traditional environment. There was a significant relationship between conceptual level (as measured by Hunt's Paragraph Completion Method) and student preference, and between conceptual level and student need for an adaptive or a traditional environment. Students with high conceptual-level scores indicated a preference and a need for an unstructured environment, while students with low conceptual-level scores expressed a preference and need for a structured environment. Results of this study support the hypothesis that when students are allowed to experience both an adaptive and a nonadaptive environment, they are able to select the environment they require for optimal learning.

Procedure facilitates self-matching

Adapting instruction to students' learning styles: An example

One method of adapting instruction to students' learning styles is presented in detail in this section. Since considerable time and effort are required to develop adaptive environments, a teacher should first become familiar with as many different approaches as possible and select the approach or the combination of approaches that best meets both the teacher's and the students' needs. (See information sources provided in the previous section for other conceptualizations of learning style.)

Many approaches

Hunt's conceptual level matching model

Derived from a theory of personality development (Harvey

Conceptual level matching model

et al., 32), the Conceptual Level Matching Model describes students both in terms of their immediate learning needs and their long-term developmental growth needs so that environments can be adapted to meet these needs (Hunt, 44) (see Table 2). For example, a student who is at an intermediate conceptual level (concerned with rules, dependent upon authority) needs a moderately structured environment to achieve immediate instructional objectives and needs experiences that encourage decision-making and self-expression to progress to a more independent stage. Table 2 summarizes the matched environments designed to meet students' immediate learning needs (environments most likely to facilitate attainment of immediate classroom instructional objectives) and the matched environments designed to meet students' developmental needs (environments most likely to facilitate students' progression to a higher stage of social development). Although development is continuous, the developmental process can be represented by the following stages:

TABLE 2. Conceptual Level Model: Contemporaneous and developmental matching[1]

Matched environments to meet students' contemporaneous needs	Conceptual level	Developmental stage	Matched environments to meet students' developmental needs
Low structure	High	Stage C independent ↑	*Emphasize empathic reaction to others;* unstructured
Moderate structure	Intermediate	Stage B dependent ↑	*Encourage decision making and self-expression;* moderately structured
High structure	Low	Stage A unsocialized	*Be accepting but firm, clear and consistent;* highly structured

[1] Adapted from Hunt (44, pp. 3 and 6).

Application of the conceptual level matching model

A three-step sequence

Implementation of the Conceptual Level Matching Model involves the following three-step sequence: Specify the goal of the adaptation; classify students according to their learning style (conceptual level); and match environments to student characteristics (Hunt, 48).

Contemporaneous matching

Highly structured

Moderately structured

Unstructured

Step one: Specify the goal of the adaptation. A teacher begins adapting by specifying the goal of the adaptation, that is, whether adaptation is to be concerned primarily with students' present learning needs or with their need for developmental growth. A teacher who is primarily interested in attaining specific instructional goals (for example, listening, reading, speaking, writing, and crosscultural understanding) might focus upon varying the structure of his teaching approach to accommodate his students' different learning styles. For example, to develop students' writing skill, a teacher might assign a specific composition topic to low-conceptual-level students, list specific points to be included, provide appropriate vocabulary words and expressions in the second language, and instruct students to work individually at assigned desks and to complete the task by the end of the class period. The same general task assigned to intermediate-conceptual-level students might require students to select one of two topics, list subtopics the student might include, indicate specific pages where pertinent vocabulary items and expressions can be found, and instruct students to hand in the composition the following day. High-conceptual-level students could be given many topics from which to choose or be told to select their own topic and to turn in the completed task the following week.

Developmental matching

Encourage interaction

Increase independence

A teacher who is concerned with creating environments that not only facilitate the attainment of immediate instructional goals but also promote students' developmental growth would gradually decrease the structure of the environment and would include stage-specific activities that foster developmental growth (Dunn and Dunn, 18, 20, Shumsky, 85). For example, a teacher would eventually give low-conceptual-level students a choice of composition topics and would allow them to work with a peer once they were able to profit from the interaction. He would gradually increase the number of topics from which intermediate-conceptual-level students would select, would offer fewer suggestions for subtopics, would indicate sources where students could find vocabulary words and idiomatic expressions rather than specific text pages, would encourage students to work first in pairs and then in groups, would extend the length of the composition and the deadline, and would encourage students to express their own thoughts and feelings. For high-conceptual-level students he would include activities that foster empathic reactions to others (for example, sharing ideas and resources).

Foster empathy

A foreign language class should provide a unique opportunity for teachers to meet simultaneously the contemporaneous needs and developmental needs of students and to achieve the instructional goals of their foreign language programs. Communication tasks recently created by Boylan et al. (8); Jarvis et al. (56); Wilson and Wattenmaker, (92) (see Chapter 2 in this volume for additional tasks) provide activities that develop communicative skill in the foreign language and facilitate developmental growth by providing experiences that encourage decision making and self-expression in nonthreatening situations. Culture activities varying in degree of structure could at once meet students' contemporaneous needs, promote crosscultural understanding, and foster empathy towards others.

New way to think of students

Step two: Classify students according to learning style. Once the goal of the adaptation has been specified, a teacher must classify his students according to their conceptual level or learning style. Some teachers find it difficult to think of students in terms of learning style. They appear to think of students only in terms of ability (Brophy and Good, 9) or grades (Schroder et al., 84), while other teachers label their students as good, bad, indifferent, or lost (Thelen, 90). To help teachers to become sensitive to learning-style differences in their students, Hunt (48) suggests the following three procedures:

What is variation in structure?

Vary the structure of your teaching approach and observe how students respond. An understanding of variation in structure can be obtained from the three assignments described in the preceding section, or by realizing that variation in degree of structure is essentially variation in the degree of teacher versus student responsibility, specificity of instructions, and preorganization of material. Highly structured environments are teacher-centered, involving preorganized material, specific instructions, and specific expectations. Unstructured environments, however, are more likely to be determined by the students and might involve material that is not preorganized and highly structured (p. 40). With an understanding of variation in structure, a teacher can vary the structure of his teaching method (using a highly structured approach one week and an unstructured approach the following week) in order to observe how well his students learn and how they feel about their learning. Students' differing reactions to each approach should be viewed as information to be used in making inferences about each student's learning style. A student, for example, who experiences difficulty with unstructured assignments probably needs a structured environment for optimal learning. Another student, bored by highly structured tasks, probably needs to learn in an unstructured environment. A teacher should be cautioned, however, against viewing a single student reaction or isolated "bits of behavior" as indicating in and of themselves a particular learning style. Instead he should gather as much information as possible about a student and weave that information into "an inferentially produced understanding of the student" expressed in terms of a particular learning style (Hunt, 48; Wood, 95).

Teaching approach

Gathering information

Study the behavioral characteristics of students with different learning styles. A teacher can obtain additional information about learning-style differences by studying the following behavioral characteristics of students requiring different degrees of structure as reported by their teachers.

Characteristics of learning style groups

Low conceptual level

A Characteristics of students who require much structure:
  1 Have a short attention span; cannot sit still for the period–in constant movement.
  2 Have no inner control as individuals; do not know how to function in group situations (many physical and verbal fights).
  3 Are physical with each other (boys) and try the rules often.
  4 Ask for direction often (they do not rely on themselves or want to think).
  5 Are literal and unable to make inferences or interpretations.

6 Lack self-confidence; generally have a poor self-image.
7 Have difficulty organizing themselves and their materials.
8 Do not reveal anything of themselves or express personal opinions—everything is very objective. They are afraid to get emotionally involved with a story or film.
9 Have a wide range of abilities.
10 See things in black and white with no grey in between.
11 Want to know the basic information or process and are not interested in the sidelights.
12 Incapable of handling general questions or thinking through a problem; they guess and let it go at that.
13 Do not assume responsibility for their own actions.
14 Work only because the teacher tells them to work and look to peers for approval.
15 Are laconic. They give brief answers with little elaboration.

B Characteristics of students who require some structure:

Intermediate conceptual level

1 Oriented to the role of a "good student" (one who gets the right answers, has neat work and good work habits).
2 Seek teacher approval and strive to please the teacher; they go along with what the teacher says.
3 Want to work alone at their own desks.
4 Are reluctant to try anything new; they do not like to appear wrong or dumb.
5 Do not express personal opinions.
6 Do not ask questions.
7 Are confused by choices.
8 Are incapable of adjusting to a different teacher; they are upset by visitors or alterations of the schedule.
9 Look for reassurance. Frequently ask, "Is this right?" "What should I do now?" "What should I write?"
10 Are not particularly imaginative.
11 Participate well in the class as a whole but do not work well in small groups.
12 Are mark conscious.

C Characteristics of students who require less structure:

High conceptual level

1 Like to discuss and argue; everybody wants to talk at

once with few listening; therefore, the noise level is high and progress somewhat slower.
2 Will question and volunteer additional information.
3 Want to solve things themselves. Don't want the teacher's help until they have exhausted all resources.
4 Are adverse to detail and dislike going step-by-step; are able to see the entire picture and tend to ignore the steps required to get there; are creative and like to formulate and act upon their own ideas; often get so involved that they do not hear the teacher.
5 Are capable of abstract thinking; do not require concrete objects.
6 Are less afraid of making mistakes than other students; are more imaginative; go off on sidetracks and are able to see alternatives.
7 Can stay at one thing for a longer time and can work by themselves with little or no supervision.
8 Have greater depth of emotions and are more open about themselves than other students.
9 Display greater ability in making interpretations and drawing inferences than other students do.
10 Are somewhat self-centered and not very concerned with others (Hunt, 41, pp. 1-3; Hunt et al., 51, p. 26).

Classifying students

Classify students and compare classification with that of another teacher or with a questionnaire. A teacher will become further sensitized to learning-style differences by attempting to classify his own students and comparing his classification with that of another teacher or with the results of a learning-style questionnaire. Discrepancies between classifications can lead to clarification of misunderstandings.

PCM method

The learning-style questionnaire (called the Paragraph Completion Method) consists of the following six topics about which the student is asked to express his own ideas.

1 What I think about rules . . .
2 When I am criticized . . .
3 What I think about parents . . .
4 When someone does not agree with me . . .
5 When I am not sure . . .
6 When I am told what to do . . . (Hunt et al., 52, p. 1)

A completed protocol for each student consists of six paragraphs (of at least three sentences each) to be scored. A score from 0 to 3 is assigned to each of the six responses, indexing the student's thinking about the six topics on the conceptual-level dimension. A student's highest three scores are then aggregated to produce a conceptual-level score. Responses of students at different conceptual levels reveal the following general characteristics: A stage "A" student (low conceptual level) is self-protective and has few alternatives; a stage "B" student (intermediate conceptual level) is a categorical thinker—something is either right or wrong—and authority oriented; a stage "C" student (high conceptual level) is self-responsible and has many alternatives.

A student protocol

The conceptual-level test should ideally be scored by a trained rater. If scored by a classroom teacher, the results should be viewed as providing additional information concerning the different learning styles and should not be used to classify students into a particular learning-style group.

Test results: information

Several examples of prescored responses will indicate the response variation among students (Hunt, 47; Hunt et al., 52). "What I think about rules . . ."

What students say

Score 0:

1 "Sometimes I hate rules because when you want to do something, it is a rule to stop you."

2 "I don't like them. Rules are made to break. I feel they are also made to get you into trouble."

Score 1:

3 "I think rules are some of the way of life. They help us to learn right from wrong and they are the set pattern for our everyday life. Without rules and regulations there would be a cruel world."

4 "Rules are made for a purpose. They are made for the protection of you or something. Rules are needed to direct our life."

Score 3:

5 "Rules are a necessity in a complex society such as ours. However rules cannot be applied in the same manner for all circumstances. A change in circumstances could make

much difference in how much and how strictly the rules should be adhered to."

"When I am criticized . . ."

Score 0:

1 "I just look over it because when people are trying to hurt you they will go to that extent."

2 "I do not like it. I like to punch the first kid who does it."

Score 1:

1 "If I know the person is right who is criticizing me I don't mind, but if I think the person is wrong, I don't, I won't take his criticism."

2 "I try to correct my mistakes and always listen so I won't make the same mistakes again."

Score 3:

1 "I use the criticism well, I do not become offended by any criticisms given me because I feel they are helpful in finding out who I am and my position in our society. I do not take everything just by its cover, though, I weigh each criticism and decide what is best."

2 "I always try to listen to their point of view and then discuss my own. I never accept it unless I can use it wisely." (Hunt et al., 52, pp. 9 and 11).

Environments

Step three: Develop appropriate environments. After a teacher has identified his students' learning styles, he must develop environments for each learning-style group. Several sources are available to assist teachers in developing environments that vary the degree of structure. One source is a text entitled *Models of Teaching* in which Joyce and Weil (57) have classified 16 models of teaching (for example, Rogers, Taba, Bruner) in terms of their degree of structure. Another source is the following list of procedures teachers have found to be most appropriate for each learning-style group. This list is the matched counterpart of the list of behavioral characteristics of students with different learning styles presented in the previous section (see page 148).

Highly structured

A Teaching approaches appropriate with students who require much structure:

1 Have definite and consistent rules—let them know what is expected of them.
2 Give specific guidelines and instructions (step by step); even make a chart of the steps.
3 Make goals and deadlines short and definite—give them the topic, how many lines/pages, how it is to be done, and the exact date it is due.
4 Provide a variety of activities during the period, incorporating some physical movement whenever possible.
5 Make positive comments about their attempts; give immediate feedback on each step; give much assurance and attention; praise often.
6 Use visuals and objects they can see, feel, and touch.
7 Get them to work immediately and change pace often.
8 Display their work—it is a form of reinforcement to which they respond.
9 Capitalize on their interests to assist them in learning the various skills (for example, stories or projects dealing with cars with Grade 9 boys).
10 Begin with factual material before discussion.
11 Move gradually from seat work to discussion; provide more group work as they are able to handle it.
12 Leave them at the end of each period with the satisfaction of having learned new material and having success in what they have been studying—almost a complete lesson each period with a minor carry over to the next period with the mention of something interesting to come.
13 Give short quizzes and objective tests initially.
14 Provide opportunities for choice and decision making as they appear ready for them.

B Teaching approaches appropriate with students who require some structure:

Moderately structured

1 Arrange students initially in rows and gradually get them working in pairs, then in small groups.
2 Have definite and consistent rules—let them know what is expected of them.
3 Use creative skits to encourage spontaneity, self-awareness, and cooperation.

4 Tell them what to do each day. Some teachers find that initialing the students' work daily provides the contact they desire and the impetus to continue—they can see how much they have accomplished.
5 Provide nonthreatening situations where they have to risk an opinion.
6 Provide a lot of praise and success-oriented situations.
7 Give them group problems to encourage sharing.
8 Provide opportunities for choice and decision-making as students appear ready for them. Push them gently into situations where they have to make decisions and take responsibility.

C Teaching approaches appropriate with students who require little structure:

Unstructured

1 Allow them to select their own seats.
2 Give them many topics from which to choose.
3 Set weekly or longer assignments and allow students to make up their own timetables.
4 Encourage them to use each other as resources.
5 Allow more mobility and give them more opportunities to take part in planning and decision-making.
6 Give them freedom to pursue projects on their own.
7 Have them work in groups with the teacher serving as a resource person.
8 Train them to listen to instructions (and to listen in general) as they tend to go off on their own.
9 Remind and encourage them to take an interest in others (Hunt, 41, pp. 4-6; Hunt et al., 51, p. 27).

A foreign language teacher's most difficult task will be developing his own material varying in degree of structure, because little material is presently available. Thirty-five foreign language teachers enrolled in a Master's program at the State University of New York at Buffalo are presently developing material to use with their students. The foreign language tasks designed for Levels One through Four in French and Spanish and for a beginning adult class in English as a second language will be further developed by another group of teachers during a subsequent semester. To facilitate the use of this material by other foreign language teachers each task contains the following items of information: the skill to be developed, the level of foreign language study, the text from which the material is adapted, the conceptual level for which the task is designed, the goal of the adaptation (contemporaneous or developmental), the entering behavior (prerequisite learning), and an English translation of the material.

In the procedure outlined above, the teacher is the agent of adaptation. An equally viable approach—an approach a teacher should seriously consider—would consist of creating environments varying in structure and allowing students to select the environment in which they wish to learn. A third approach might consist of establishing an interdependent relationship between teacher and student in which a teacher's rôle would consist of facilitating and monitoring the self-matching process.

An additional "act" of the student: Learning strategies

An additional "act" of the student that requires a "response" from the teacher is the student's strategy with particular tasks. Jakobovits (53) observes:

> . . . the learner makes his own contribution to the learning situation and these *learner strategies* are to a greater or lesser extent independent of the teacher's activities. What is needed is a more detailed and explicit description of the specific activities of both the teacher and the student in the instructional situation. Once adequate observation techniques are developed, evaluation criteria of effectiveness can then suggest specific changes in instructional activities [italics added] (p. 74).

Carroll and Rivers have also acknowledged this "act" or contribution of the learner: Carroll (14) states, "It is almost impossible to control the techniques that the *student himself* will adopt to acquire a given skill" (p. 103). Rivers (82) notes, ". . . students will learn according to their personal strategies in the ultimate secret of their individual personalities even when they appear to be doing as we direct" (p. 22).

The author first became aware of learning strategies when she noted that she could observe the techniques she herself used to complete tasks as a student in a beginning Spanish class. An investigation was undertaken to discover whether the remaining 22 students in the class could also observe and describe their learning strategies (Hosenfeld, 38). Data gathered in individual interviews involving the technique of "thinking aloud" (Bloom and Broder, 7; Buswell and John, 12) revealed that college students could indeed observe and describe how they completed foreign language tasks.

Can students self-report?

The purpose of a second investigation was twofold: to discover whether younger (junior high school age) language learners could describe their learning strategies and to develop a questioning procedure that foreign language teachers could use to elicit their students' strategies. The following principles developed during the second study would be useful to teachers talking to students about their strategies:

Principles for teachers

1 Distinguish between a retrospective and an introspective description of a strategy. When students are asked to describe the way in which they complete tasks, initially they tend to describe how they completed the tasks in the past. These summary statements are useful but a teacher should also obtain a description of a student's strategy *as* he completes the task.

Retrospection/introspection

2 Use indirect questions rather than direct questions—especially during the early stages of a conversation with a student. The purpose of the teacher's questions is to prompt the student to reveal *in his own words* how he completes particular foreign language tasks. This objective is not achieved by direct questions that elicit a yes/no response from the student such as "Did you read the sentence for meaning?" Instead, an indirect question such as "Did you look at 'such and such' a word?" will prompt the student to provide the information *in his own words.* An indirect approach is particularly important in a context such as foreign language learning where there is often lack of congruence between what a student is thought to be doing and what he actually *is* doing.

Direct/indirect approach

3 Emphasize that correctness of the answer is not the prime concern but rather the steps students go through to arrive

Product/process

at the answer. Teachers and students are so attuned to concentrating on answers (products) that initially it may require a little extra effort to attend to and to perceive the series of steps (process) that precede the answer.

Teacher-initiated/ student-initiated topics

4 Follow the learner and go where he leads you. Significant information is often obtained when a student is allowed to digress and to discuss some aspect of learning that may initially appear to be unrelated to the task at hand. By pursuing a student-initiated topic a teacher may not only gain insight into the idiosyncratic features of a student's strategy but may also experience a unique encounter in which the teacher and student roles seem to melt into two people communicating directly (Hosenfeld, 36, 37).

Thirty ninth graders "think aloud"

In a third study, 30 ninth graders were randomly selected from a group of 54 students enrolled in three Level-Two French classes in which the teacher was individualizing instruction (Hosenfeld, 38). To understand the kinds of tasks students performed in this particular setting, the interviewer observed the students for several days. Students spent the majority of class time completing exercises in the text, *Fenêtres sur la France*. To obtain a manageable and yet representative sample of the classroom tasks, 50 percent of the exercises in five chapters (chapters four through eight) were randomly selected, divided into ten sets of four or five exercises and randomly assigned to each student. Because students were progressing at different rates through the text and interviews were scheduled over a three-week period, the first 15 students were presented tasks from the first four chapters and the last 15 students were presented tasks from the last four chapters. The 30 20-minute interviews were recorded on tape.

Segments of interviews

Following are transcriptions of segments of interviews with two different students:

Interview Excerpt 1

Reading-grammar task

The textbook exercise involved selecting the appropriate preposition preceding an adjective or a verb in indefinite pronoun phrases. Items were of the following type.

1 *Connaissez-vous quelqu'un . . . sympa?*
J'ai des billets, je n'ai rien . . . faire

ce soir, et je voudrais faire quelque chose . . . amusant. Mais voilà, je ne connais personne . . . gentil ou . . . amusant! (Lenard, 63, p. 157).

Interviewer: How do you do this exercise?

Kurt: Well . . . I don't see this first part of the sentence at all. I just look at the word after blank. If it's an adjective, I put *de* and if it's a verb I put *à*.

Interviewer: Let's do Number 1.

Kurt: *Sympa* is an adjective, so it's *de sympa; faire* is a verb so it's *à faire*; *amusant* is an adjective so it's *d'amusant*; *gentil* adjective *de*; *amusant* adjective *d'*.

Student logic

Interviewer: Did you look at *je voudrais faire quelque chose* or *je ne connais personne*?

Kurt: Oh no. You don't need those words at all. All you have to know is that you use *de* with adjectives and *à* with verbs. You see, that's all they're trying to teach you and that's all you have to learn. [Pause] You've had all these words before anyway—that's why they put them in these sentences. They wouldn't put them in here if you didn't know what they meant. And why waste a lot of time reading them when you already know what the answer is?

Interview Excerpt 2

A task redefined

The text exercise required the student to replace a noun indirect object with a pronoun. Following are the instructions, an example, and several items.

Replace the italicized words with *y*.

Example: *Je vais au cinéma.*
J'y vais.

1 Le livre est *sur la table*.
2 La serviette est *sous la chaise*.
3 Le chat est *sur le fauteuil*.
4 Ma mère est *à la maison*.
5 Mon père est *au bureau* (Lenard, 63, p. 111).

Interviewer: Let's do this exercise.

Jon: In this exercise I just go *y est, y est, y est, y est, y est.*

Interviewer: Did you look at *sur la table* or *sous la chemise*?

Jon: No. I don't look at that part at all. They tell you to replace all the words in italics with *y* so I don't even look at them. I look right in front of the verb and I say *y est, y est, y est.*

"Black-out Ratio"

Students' responses can be viewed from several different perspectives. One approach would consist of applying a "black-out ratio" to the material in the exercises. Developed by Holland and Kemp (33, 60) the black-out ratio is the percentage of words that can be obliterated in material without increasing error rate. Following are the two exercises presented above with unnecessary words blacked out.

1 ~~Connaissez vous quelqu'un~~ . . . ~~sympa?~~
~~J'ai des billets, je n'ai rien~~ . . . faire
~~ce soir, et je voudrais faire quelque~~
~~chose~~ . . . amusant. ~~Mais voilà, je~~
~~ne connais personne~~ . . . gentil ~~ou~~ . . . amusant.
1 Le livre est ~~*sur la table*~~.
2 La serviette est ~~*sous la chaise.*~~
3 Le chat est ~~*sur le fauteuil*~~.
4 Ma mère est ~~*à la maison*~~.
5 Mon père est ~~*au bureau.*~~

After blacking out a sizeable amount of the material in the two exercises (as well as in many exercises in the students' text) the student can still complete the exercise successfully.

Critical material

Another approach consists of asking the following question in relation to each exercise: Does the configuration of the exercise require the student to notice the critical material as a condition for correct responding (Anderson, 2)? The minimal critical material in the first exercise would consist of the entire indefinite pronoun phrases. In the second exercise the student should be required (at the very least) to attend to the italicized words in each sentence in order to learn the prepositional phrases that are replaced by *y*. Analysis of the exercises reveals that correct responding is not contingent upon inspection of the critical material (Hosenfeld, 38).

Different attitudes

While several students may use a similar technique to complete a task, they may differ significantly on some other dimension such as on the attitudes that accompany the strategy. The exercises in this study were of two types: exercises that required students to read sentences for meaning in order to arrive at a correct answer and exercises that did not require the processing of meaning. Following are transcriptions of segments of interviews with two students completing the same two exercises—one of each type. Although they used a similar strategy with the nonmeaning exercises, their attitudes toward the tasks differ significantly.

A meaning task

The first exercise required the student to respond to a question in two or three sentences using either *y* or *en*. Items were of the following type.

1 *Avez-vous une voiture? Pourquoi?*
2 *Etes-vous resté à la maison hier soir? Pourquoi?*
(Lenard, 63, p. 115)

INTERVIEWER: Would you "think aloud" as you complete this exercise?

MELONIE: *Avez-vous une voiture? Pourquoi?* [Silence] I always have lots of trouble with this kind. I'm not any good at these *d'imagination* exercises. Well . . . Let's see . . . *Avez-vous une voiture? Non . . . je n'ai pas une voiture . . . parce que . . . elle est trop chère . . .* or something like that. *Etes-vous resté à la maison hier soir? Pourquoi? Non . . . je n'ai pas resté à la maison parce que j'ai beaucoup de devoirs à faire.*

A nonmeaning task

The second exercise involved replacing a noun direct object and a noun indirect object with appropriate pronouns. Items were of the following type:

1 Le professeur explique *la leçon à ses élèves.*
2 La vendeuse vend *les robes aux clients* (Lenard, 63, p. 118).

INTERVIEWER: Let's do this one.

MELONIE: [She looks at the exercise. Long pause] You know what?

INTERVIEWER: What?

A probable cause?

MELONIE: You know I think the reason why I have so much trouble with the other type of exercise is because of the way I do this type. On these I don't pay any attention to the meaning of any of these sentences. You know, after a while it all becomes so mechanical. You take something out here and you put it in over there. [She points first to *la leçon* and then in front of the verb.]

You take something else out here and you put it in over there, and you do the same thing over and over again until you've finished the exercise. After a few exercises you rush up to take the quiz so you can rush back to your seat and begin all over again. You figure out what pieces you have to move around and where they have to go and you start moving them all over again. And you know what? It seems as though that's all I've been doing all year long.

Another student, Mike, completes the same two exercises.

INTERVIEWER: Would you "think aloud" as you complete this exercise?

MIKE: *Avez-vous une voiture*? *Pourquoi*? Do you have a car? Why? No. I'm too young. *Non. Je suis trop jeune. Etes-vous resté à la maison hier soir*? *Pourquoi*? Did you stay home last night? Why? Yes I did because I did my homework. *Oui, parce que j'ai fait mes devoirs.*

Translating: a decoding strategy

INTERVIEWER: Did you translate each sentence?

MIKE: I always translate this kind.

INTERVIEWER: Why do you translate?

MIKE: To be sure I've got the meaning. Otherwise I can't answer them. I don't like this kind as well as the other kind.

INTERVIEWER: Why?

MIKE: They're harder to do and they take much longer. The others you can just whip through, and these really slow you down.

INTERVIEWER: You seem to be in a hurry.

MIKE: Yeah. I want to finish the book. If you finish the book, you don't have to take the final exam.

"Neat" exercises

INTERVIEWER: Let's do this exercise. This is the kind you like, isn't it?

MIKE: [Looks at the exercise] Yeah. This is it. These are kind of neat. When they put the important words in italics it makes it a lot easier because you automatically know where to look. If a lot of these exercises didn't have the important words in italics you'd probably have to read all of these sentences to find out what you need to replace. But it's neat the way these exercises are set up 'cause you can jump right to the important part and do them without worrying about what all the words mean.

A lesson in individual differenc

Minimum amount of information

Talking to students about their learning strategies is an extraordinary lesson in individual differences. Wide variation in the way 30 students go about completing tasks and in the attitudes that accompany these strategies allows one to experience indelibly the uniqueness of the individual learner. By "crossing-over" differences between learners certain commonalities emerge. In the context of the present study (because research on learning strategies is in its infancy, one should be cautious in generalizing findings to other settings) a few students consistently processed the meaning of sentences in grammar exercises that did not require such processing for successful completion. Several students processed sentences for meaning when not required to do so on some occasions, while on other occasions they did not. A much larger group of students attended only to the information in the exercises that was needed to complete the task.

Serendipitous finding

A repertory of strategies

A serendipitous finding emerged during the third study when students who had completed the assigned tasks were asked to perform more complex tasks, such as reading a passage in the foreign language. While interviewing students doing the grammar exercises, the concept of strategy was viewed as a unitary entity; that is, the primary focus of each interview was to discover the single strategy the student used to complete each task. It became evident that in some instances (with more complex tasks) the concept of strategy is pluralistic. Each learner may possess an entire repertory of strategies that come into play whenever a task represents a true problem-solving situation. This finding was corroborated by two different interviewers in a later study (Hosenfeld, 34).

Research needed

Analysis of students' reading strategies reveals an area that is much in need of research: the translating strategies of second language learners. The perennial dispute about whether foreign language students do or do not translate is anachronistic. Many *do* (Anderson, 1; Carroll, 14; Hosenfeld, 38; Kirstein, 61). We should instead be asking different kinds of questions, such as who translates, how often, under what conditions, why, and what is the effect of translating upon learning a second language?

Classroom teachers as well as researchers need to know what students are doing as they complete foreign language tasks.

Rivers (81) points out, "If teachers are to be required more and more to prepare or adapt materials themselves as individualization becomes more widely accepted as an approach to school learning, they will need to think carefully about how students learn and arrange the conditions and select the influences accordingly" (p. 89).

Summary

1 A change in locus of the first "act" in the educational process from teacher to learner effects a series of events unlike that found in traditional classrooms. When students provide the first input into the teaching–learning situation in the form of individual differences, the teacher's role becomes one of interpreting the information and providing differentiated environments to match these differences. These differences appear to be far more extensive than most teachers recognize during the day-to-day intensity of large classes and minimal resources.

2 The term *learning style* subsumes many individual difference dimensions. One important dimension is students' differing needs for varying degrees of structure. The profession's present task is to assist teachers in providing environments varying in structure in order to meet students' learning needs.

3 Foreign language teachers, materials developers, and researchers need to know what students are doing as they complete foreign language tasks. Considerable lack of congruence exists between what students are thought to be doing and what they actually are doing. We need to begin to understand that it is not the task itself but what the student does with the task that determines what is learned. Our rhetoric about student-centered classrooms must become a reality—through better understanding of the nature of *each* foreign language student in our classrooms. The perspective is a new freedom to learn.

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A new reading

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Introduction

Reading: a national concern

Reading performance of children throughout the United States has shown such an alarming decline that the federal government has initiated the "Right to Read" program to combat this trend. The legislatures of state after state are responding to the problem by mandating periodic testing to assess pupil progress in reading. Observers have estimated that as much as 75 percent of the elementary school day is currently devoted to reading skills (Bartolome, 7). To an unprecedented degree public school time, money, space, and personnel are being invested in reading.

New emphasis on FL reading

The emphasis on teaching first language reading skills is paralleled in foreign language instruction. During the years when the audiolingual theory dominated foreign language

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teaching, reading came last in the four-skills sequence, after the presumed mastery of speaking, listening, and writing. Today foreign language reading is moving to first position in many classrooms. For many students the desire to learn a foreign language is synonymous with the desire to read that language. Reading comprehension is being viewed as the cornerstone skill from which listening comprehension as well as speaking and writing ability can best evolve. Contrary to practices and methods characteristic of the postwar era, the suggestion is now being made that even elementary language courses should emphasize reading. Nelson (89) points out that reading skills are the easiest to maintain after formal instruction has ended. Students who have learned to read a foreign language book or magazine as a pleasure and not a chore may well continue this activity beyond the classroom. In contrast to students whose learning has centered on oral skills, training in reading encourages the language learners to continue independent efforts within the normal course of their experience.

Such thinking would have been considered heresy or simple foolishness as recently as five years ago. New concepts of the role of reading in foreign language learning have resulted in the questioning of any number of classroom practices. Paine (96), for example, has suggested that reading aloud in class may be counterproductive. Postovsky (106) has proposed a four-week delay in oral practice for beginners. His findings suggest that reading without pronunciation practice yields better learning in all four skills (p. 237).

In short, we are experiencing an about-face. The dogmas that language teachers have been hearing in past decades such as "Oral practice must precede exposure to the written word" or "Mimicry and memorization" are questioned or rejected. Foreign language teaching is in a transition period in which the issue of when, how much, and how to read has assumed central importance.

Need for a theoretical base

What we lack at this transition point is precisely what native language educators are seeking—a coherent theory of reading, and classroom practices that reflect this theory. Numerous speculations and cautious predictions based on initial research exist. Even when viewed comprehensively the research evidence offers little more than tentative solutions and suggestions for

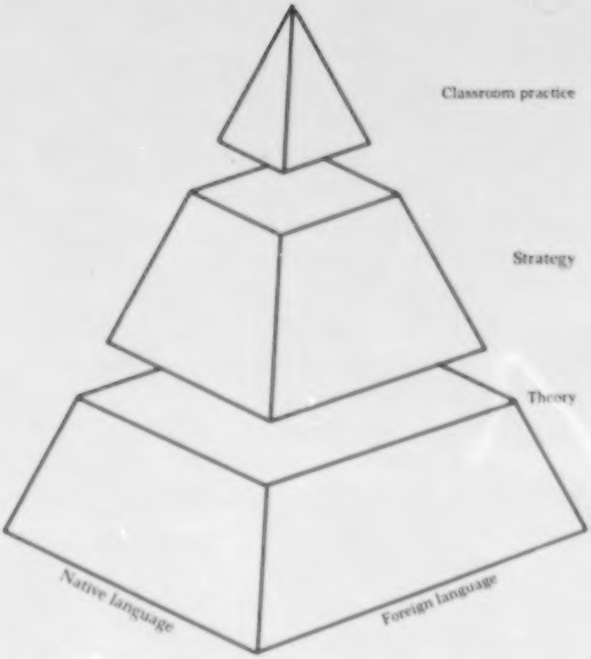

Figure 1. Teaching reading: Towards an integrated system

further investigation. For this reason the most realistic approach to recent literature about foreign language reading is one that attempts to assess the trends and directions in which we seem to be headed. For purposes of discussion, current reading theory and practice can be visualized as a three-dimensional puzzle in the shape of a pyramid. The theoretical base of the pyramid is the reading process in the native language. The puzzle pieces come from a wide variety of sources and make sense in themselves but seem difficult to fit together. The origin and application of new learning strategies in foreign language reading are considered at the next level. The puzzle at this level does not make sense as individual pieces, but when put together the segments begin to form a whole. Finally, emerging at the top, are modifications and revisions in teaching practices. Here not only are individual pieces recognizable as individual approaches, but when they are combined, some tangible new freedoms can be identified.

One might well argue that since we as classroom instructors are best served by knowledge of techniques and materials of proven effectiveness, speculation about learning processes should be relegated to the language theorists and disregarded by its practitioners. Without theory, however, we cut ourselves off from the wellspring of insights and innovation from which our classroom practices are continually evolving, and our experimentation then takes a random course. Our recent liberation from teaching doctrines is a new responsibility. We are challenged not only to try new classroom approaches but also to steer our practices toward a total foreign language learning concept.

Learning theory

New learner importance

One of the central pieces in today's learning theory picture can be summed up as the conviction that how teachers teach must be based on knowledge of how students learn. Jarvis (61) sees instruction as "the arrangement of the conditions for learning." He asserts that an instructional model must originate in the interaction between the learner and the task to be learned. Any other approaches he dismisses as "patently inappropriate" (p. 398). Furthermore, classroom practices should recognize and promote positive student attitudes toward the subject matter being learned. Jacobsen and Imhoof (59) identify "Japanophilia"–positive attitudes toward Japan and the Japanese people –as an important factor in predicting success in learning the language. Tang (140) analyzed ethnic-linguistic attitudes in two groups of Cantonese preadolescent learners of English. Using two approaches, translation and nontranslation, she compared reading performance and discovered that the translation method was superior for immigrant children who had a positive attitude toward their native language, while the nontranslation method proved superior for those who did not hold their native language in high esteem. In her conclusions the author emphasizes that teachers must be aware that some learning difficulties originate in stereotyped thinking and use this awareness to develop open-mindedness in their students. Similarly, Politzer and Hoover (105), evaluating the performance of ghetto blacks learning standard English, concluded that the use or nonuse of the student's native dialect in the classroom should depend on the individual student's degree of attachment to his native

Attitudes

language or culture. Tang, Politzer, and Hoover all emphasize that further research in a variety of second language learning situations is needed before their findings can be generalized. Although the cultural identification of blacks and immigrants is probably not comparable to that of foreign language students learning French, Spanish, or German as a second language, these results do underscore the significance of attitude as a factor in developing instructional models.

Applying this affective concern to foreign language instruction, Stevick (136) suggests that "language instruction must do an about-face" (p. 379). The author sees today's foreign language student constrained to defensive learning (avoidance of mistakes) in an authoritarian classroom. In place of such behaviors we should be promoting receptive learning, allowing the student to explore the foreign language on the basis of trial and error and not demanding either total accuracy or total comprehension.

Student freedom

One of the new freedoms language students may need is the freedom to experiment without fear of corrective retaliation on the part of the instructor. Holley and King (58) suggest that emphasizing communication of ideas may be a more useful teaching strategy than worrying about grammar mistakes. This approach not only frees the student to use the foreign language, it can conceivably facilitate greater accuracy. Extrapolating from the precepts of generative grammar, Aid (2) suggests that the idea, or what the speaker *means* to say, determines the basic grammaticality of the utterance. Thus both students and teachers of foreign language may get better results by concentrating on what is being said rather than how it is being said.

Foreign language teachers must be aware of the fact that student feelings toward the instructional methods will be an important factor in their learning. Indirect teacher behaviors and teaching methods that allow for greater student interaction with the foreign language will apparently result in better learning. If these are valid conclusions, awareness of our students' reactions to classroom practices will help us to determine whether we are, in fact, creating positive attitudes.

Attitudinal factors provide some fairly clear puzzle pieces of learning. What happens when a reader looks at a printed page is more controversial. The very fact that educators are examining this question is indicative of the new direction in learning theory: the concern with learning processes rather than with specific kinds of behavior. Samuels (118) criticizes research on the grounds that labeling reading difficulty with terms such as dyslexia or neurological impairment implies that the cause is known; in fact, such categories simply label behavior. Samuels argues for the development of research that will aid in finding the source of a problem and will provide indications of how to overcome behavioral difficulty. Such research would focus on cognitive processes: attention, distinctive feature learning, visual and auditory memory, and long- and short-term memory.

Concern for learning processes

Similarly, Goodman (48) reproaches educators for failing to probe beneath behavior to the processes and competencies that produce it (p. 49). The behaviorist orientation has led to reading approaches that isolate sounds from written letters, word parts from whole words, and words from their meaning context. Such instruction, he charges, increases the complexity of learning by substituting "abstract language elements for meaningful language" (p. 50). Instead of compartmentalizing reading behaviors, teachers should be emphasizing reading for meaning. Attention to detail, Goodman (46) asserts, inhibits reading comprehension. Reading facility involves making the right guesses rather than striving for absolute accuracy. Reading strategies that train students to predict, confirm, correct, and integrate meaning will produce reading facility.

Good reading: good guessing

Although most of Goodman's work deals with young native readers of English, many foreign language educators find his hypotheses relevant to second language reading (Oller, 93; Yorio, 157). Ferguson's work (39) with nonnative readers of English does seem to support the validity of Goodman's assertions for foreign language teaching. After receiving training in rapid reading skills, Ferguson's students found they tended to disregard unknown vocabulary and were able to isolate main ideas more readily than students reading word for word. The speed readers' overall comprehension was higher than that of students reading at slower speeds (p. 34).

Such findings can be expected to cause both disbelief and dismay among some foreign language colleagues and their students. The idea that reading should be considered a "guessing game" (Goodman, 46) is counter to assumptions about exactitude, which in previous educational theory formed the basis for learning to read. The new theoretical orientation gains credence, however, when illustrated in the form of a diagrammed reading model. Visual models are no more than a device to aid us in comprehending a postulated sequence of mental activity. Based on the models used in information processing (Neisser, 90), they use both the vocabulary and the concepts of computer sciences, identifying elements such as memory storage, memory retrieval, decoding, and processing. Learning models consist of an hypothesized series of components that may not actually exist. In assuming their existence, however, the door is opened to explore new relationships among the individual puzzle pieces of the learning process.

Reading models

Samuels and Anderson (119), for example, confirmed that a relationship exists between visual recognition memory and good reading comprehension. Although they worked with elementary school readers of English, their findings may have relevance for foreign language teachers. The practice of visualization is often used as a mnemonic device: for example, "When you see the word 'Baum,' try to picture a tree." Samuels and Anderson's results imply a new step toward reading facility: training visual recognition memory learning. If the findings of such studies can be applied to high school and college-aged students, visualization strategies in the foreign language classroom can be introduced to enhance comprehension.

Visual recognition

Carver's (19) model of the reading process diagrams a sequence of mental activities which he feels occurs in the brain prior to comprehension of the message (see Figure 2). The blocks at the top of the figure are involved in the scanning process. We can assume that the amount of "input," the attention of the reader, will influence the quality and amount of sorting. We have all experienced reading a page only to discover that we have not registered what was read. Probably one of the ways attitude affects reading comprehension at this initial stage is by influencing the amount of attention a reader brings to bear. Information will not be decoded until concentration is focused on meaning or understanding thought. Carver's is only one illustration of the types of models currently being devised. Other models of the reading process tend to introduce more complexity by dividing the scanning system into subsystems for letters,

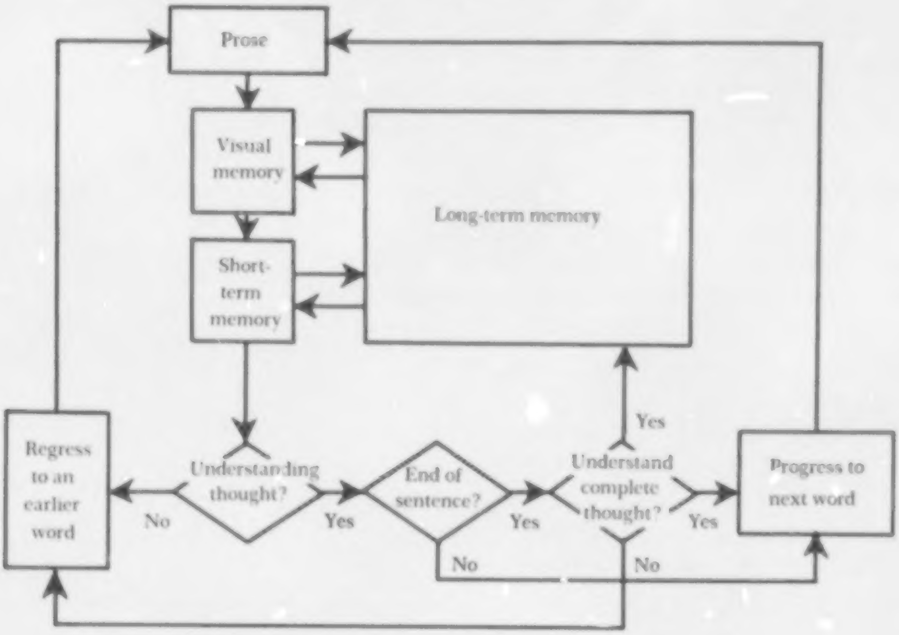
Prose
Visual memory
Long-term memory
Short-term memory
Regress to an earlier word
Understanding thought?
No
Yes
End of sentence?
Yes
No
Understand complete thought?
Yes
Yes
No
Progress to next word

Figure 2. Carver: Reading model

sounds, syntactic and semantic rules, and the like (Gough, 50).

An important consideration that Carver's model illustrates is the regression process the reader experiences when thought is not understood. If Carver's model can be applied to the foreign language reading process, Goodman's assertion that the demand for total accuracy inhibits comprehension holds doubly true. Foreign language students who return to the starting point every time they encounter a strange word at the memory level will have difficulty reaching the level of thought.

Regression process

Oller (93) stresses that language models must reflect language as a medium of communication rather than as a self-contained system. Early work by transformational grammarians excluded consideration of communicative contexts and posited a system with the syntactic component as the central element. Oller traces a changing emphasis away from this early position in transformational theory toward what he calls the "pragmatic facts of language" (p. 175). Pragmatics correlates linguistic units, speakers, and what Oller calls "extralinguistic information," for example, the context in which the language is situated. He sees the application of pragmatics to second language

Role of context

teaching as an emphasis on communication in a realistic context. "A sequence of lessons which are connected in terms of the extralinguistic information they contain may be superior to a series of lessons linked only by the familiar syntactic principles they illustrate" (p. 176). Beginning foreign language texts that present a sequence of chapters with a continuing focal situation probably facilitate learning because students can associate expanding comprehension and production skills within a particular context. Yorio (157) points out that not only should foreign language students be taught to guess at meaning, but vocabulary must also be taught in "meaningful situations or in relation to other words grammatically or semantically related to them" (p. 109). The work of Yorio and Oller illustrates the kind of extrapolations that foreign language educators are making from native language reading models.

Fluent reading

A specific instance of a native language model that has been relevant to foreign language education is that of Frank Smith (130). Smith distinguishes between the processes necessary to learn to read and the stage of fluent reading. He believes that when students first learn to read they transform or "translate" into spoken language prior to processing for meaning. Later, however, the advanced reader goes directly from visual stimulus to meaning, bypassing oral transformations and sampling syntax only to the extent necessary to confirm his or her expectations. Fluent readers can predict meaning with a minimum of visual information. Smith concurs with Goodman that the reader who lacks prediction skills and is forced to analyze the constituents of the surface representation (the orthographic and grammatical form) will suffer a loss of comprehension. A foreign language reading model incorporating Smith's tripart distinction of meaning, word, and letter identification is illustrated in Figure 3.

When reading a complete text, the foreign language students' objective should be to comprehend all phases at the meaning level. To illustrate the operation of the model in Figure 3, the meaning of "to find out about Billie Jean King" is far easier to grasp if preceded by the statement "I bought a *Sports Illustrated.*" Even if the idiom "to find out" is not known or recognized, the cues *Sports Illustrated* and *Billie Jean King* allow predictions that can be confirmed or corrected as the reader

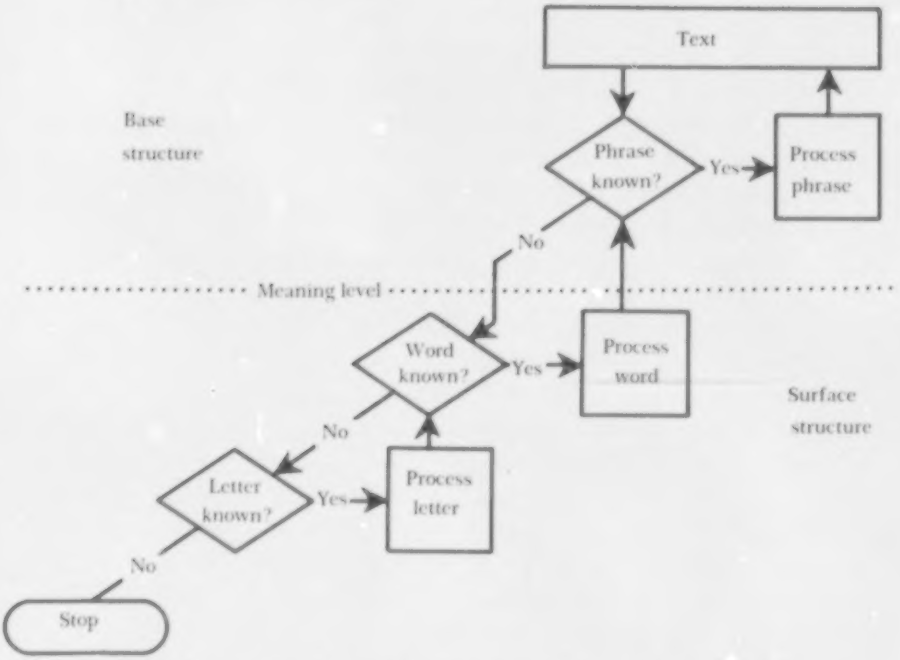
Text
Base structure
Phrase known?
Yes
Process phrase
No
Meaning level
Word known?
Yes
Process word
Surface structure
No
Letter known?
Yes
Process letter
No
Stop

Figure 3. Holley and King: Foreign language reading model

continues. At the deep structure or meaning level the fluent reader is probably prepared for facts, opinions, or insinuations about an American tennis player and does not anticipate information about which tennis rackets to buy or how to get tickets for Wimbledon. Our model represents an attempt to illustrate how a foreign language reader is more efficient when processing at the phrase level than at the level of surface structure. Smith explains the basis for this efficiency as follows: "The 'decoding' that the skilled reader performs is not to transform visual symbols into sound, which is the widely held conventional view of what reading is about, but to transform the visual representation of language into meaning" (p. 222). Smith identifies the objective of the novice reader as learning to go from the surface structure (the visual configuration) to the deep structure (meaning).

Decoding

Research findings on subvocalization, sometimes called "silent speech," seem to be at odds with Smith's assumptions. McGuignan (82), working with adult native language readers, confirmed the conclusions of previous investigations indicating that covert oral response facilitates reading proficiency. The

Silent speech and comprehension

author hypothesizes that subvocalization is neurological and helps integrate linguistic signals in the brain. Smith argues that converting a written message into verbal form merely interposes an additional stage in the comprehension process. Edfeldt (30) has measured subvocalization and discovered it occurs spontaneously when the reader encounters comprehension difficulties. Subvocalization may be merely a comprehension strategy readers revert to with unfamiliar materials whose content, vocabulary, or syntax is difficult to interpret.

Rivers (113) stresses the importance of deep and surface structure in foreign language teaching. She suggests that exercises that train students to detect "the deep structure relationship beneath the surface forms" must be developed for both listening and reading comprehension (p. 133). She cautions that students who are not trained to decode and recode in the foreign language will convert what they hear or read into a simplified form in the native language, thus "wasting time and energy in translation and retranslation and never developing speed and ease in direct comprehension" (p. 132).

The new cognitive models are challenging some of the time-honored practices of foreign language learning: rote memorization, translation from the foreign language to the native language, and the expectation that the "careful" detailed reading will facilitate superior comprehension. Supplanting these practices are a variety of new reading strategies that have evolved from emphasis on learning processes rather than specific behavioral objectives. The research evaluating and suggesting these strategies forms the second level of the new reading pyramid.

Attitudinal and learning strategies

Reading strategies

Investigations to evaluate training in different kinds of reading techniques, such as skimming for general impressions or scanning for details, have been conducted in native language studies (Watson, 151) and rapid reading (Dahl, 24; Watts and Buzan, 152). Regardless of age level, students exposed to these strategies consistently show increases in achievement and improvement in attitude.

In many respects research analyzing various reading skill strategies may have immediate applicability for foreign language learning. Questions are one of the most common tools for teaching foreign language reading. In foreign language teaching no certainty exists about the circumstances under which questions aid students in comprehending and retaining the information in a text. Mollica (85) believes that foreign language students need vocabulary and concept preparation to optimize their reading. Part of this preparation should involve assigning provocative questions before reading rather than afterward.

Questioning strategies

Pavlak (98), reviewing professional literature on native language reading comprehension from 1948 to 1972, concluded that questions helped students of all ages to retain and comprehend prose materials. Overall, postquestions (questions asked subsequent to reading) were more effective than prequestions (questions asked before the passage was read). Typical of the kind of research that Pavlak evaluated is Felker's (38) study testing 88 college-aged students on chapters from a text used in their introductory psychology course. He discovered that over one half of the students exposed to questions at the end of the assigned reading attained 70 percent or higher mastery levels while one half of the students not so exposed failed to achieve 70 percent mastery.

One must be wary of facile generalizations from such evidence, however. In this instance, concern about learning variables led Feiman (37) to investigate short-term retention of information contained in a single paragraph. College students were given a multiple-choice recognition test and were interviewed immediately following their 20-second exposure to a reading passage. Contrary to the predictions gleaned from other research, prequestions in this situation led to significantly higher retention than postquestions. Feiman's study suggests that the helpfulness of pre- and postquestions may vary depending on the instructional objectives. Ways to use questions in foreign language reading must be researched to see, among other things, under which conditions students comprehend better with prequestions and under which with postquestions. The unfamiliarity of the foreign language learner with both the vocabulary and the cultural background of a text may be a decisive factor in favor of prequestions.

Possibly the value of any kind of question is that it superimposes a learning strategy on the student. Danford (25), experimenting with over 300 children in an elementary school social science course, determined that reading comprehension was significantly improved among students given a specific purpose for their reading. Students could, for example, be asked to pretend they were joining Lewis and Clark on their expedition and to read the assignment to decide what they would have to take along.

Value clarification

A similar strategy that facilitates learning is value clarification. Pracejus (107) compared two groups of eighth grade children reading stories in the native language. One group engaged in discussions of their own aspirations, purposes, and feelings vis-à-vis characters and situations in the stories. This group outperformed a second group using the approach suggested by the publisher (content questions).

Instead of focusing on problems per se, strategies lead the learner to more efficient methods of learning. Strategies involving when to question or deciding what kind of purpose to associate with reading are what Della-Piana and Endo (27) cite as mathemagenic factors—activities that facilitate learning. The use of terms like *mathemagenic factors* is indicative of the new technology of reading. Further distinctions they cite are: behavioral skill analysis (breaking a task or behavior down into subcomponent skills or behaviors), hierarchical skills analysis (the sequence of skill learning or the extent to which one skill serves as a prerequisite to learning another), and mastery learning (controlling learning at each step to insure mastery there prior to advancement to the next step).

New technology of reading

Although Della-Piana and Endo caution that concepts such as "mastery learning" cannot yet be taken for granted, current research in reading seems to be establishing the validity of these terms. These reading comprehension strategies can be broken down into discernible puzzle pieces. At present we can do no more than categorize elements belonging to this midsection of the pyramid. Which ones apply to reading a foreign language? At the base of our puzzle, two central components of fluent reading are vocabulary and syntax. These must be sufficiently familiar so that, per fixation on a printed page, a minimal number of visual clues (distinctive features) enables the reader to predict meaning without having to process individual words or letters. Most foreign language classes are made up of postadolescents o. adults who have, presumably, already achieved a degree of fluency in native language reading. The new literature on reading presents mounting indications that, in the case of students of junior high school age or older, foreign language teachers may be able to capitalize on established reading abilities: We do not have to teach reading from scratch.

Capitalizing on native language ability

Osburn (94) and Siedow (128) have undertaken native language research that suggests that no consistent correlation exists between syntactic maturity (the ability to generate complex sentences) and the level of syntactic maturity comprehended in reading. In other words, the capacity to produce syntactically complex language may not be so closely related to the ability to understand it in writing as has been previously thought. For foreign language teachers such a conclusion is almost a truism. We have all known students who excelled in listening or reading comprehension without being able to engage in any but rudimentary oral responses. The correlation between production skills (speaking and writing) and comprehension skills is a missing piece of data at the strategy level. Virtually no research has explored the ways in which production mastery corresponds to reading comprehension skills. At present foreign language learning strategies tend to be based on the assumption that at some point some correlation does, in fact, exist.

Production vs. comprehensio

An assumption for which the documentation seems fairly conclusive is that syntactic maturity and reading comprehension ability are closely linked. Osburn's (94) research with third, fifth, and seventh grade children confirmed her hypothesis that the older the speaker of English, the greater the likelihood of ability to solve tasks involving syntactic complexity. Students were asked to separate two sentences having the same deep structure from a third sentence with similar surface structure but a different deep structure, for example, "John is eager to please" and "John is happy to please" from "John is easy to please." Scores on the examinations were higher in direct correlation with increase in age and reading ability.

A related assumption of foreign language instruction for which there is mounting evidence is that syntactic maturity in English can be transferred to second language learning. Ervin-Tripp (34) conducted a study using pupils from various grade

Syntactic transfer

levels in a French elementary school. Her results can be construed in favor of the syntactic transference hypothesis. Based on a series of tests administered in the course of the school year, Ervin-Tripp concluded that syntactic and morphological features of the foreign language being taught were comprehended in the same order as the mother tongue. Moreover, the older the children, the faster these features were learned.

Classroom strategies based on these insights have been reported as yielding positive results. Pierce (102), for example, experimented with training adult second language learners in sentence expectancy. Nonnative speakers were taught to recognize four basic English sentence patterns. The group ascertained that in about 90 percent of the sentences read, the subject was followed directly by the main verb. Students were then trained in the application of patterns to reading comprehension using reading exercises such as rapid reading followed by class discussion of structural cues. Pierce found both an increase in student reading comprehension and more positive attitudes toward language learning.

In weighing this information, the first inference seems to be that foreign language teachers can expect mature students familiar with syntactic complexity in their mother tongue to comprehend syntactic complexities in the foreign language more readily than children lacking syntactic sophistication. Second, student recognition of foreign language syntactic patterns aids in reading comprehension. Some foreign language educators have suggested that postadolescents and adults may be able to read syntactically complex texts written for native speakers much sooner than is usually assumed. Reibel (111) argues that unedited texts "contain in natural form the important, frequent and useful phonological, lexical, and grammatical elements of the target language," and it may therefore be feasible to dispense completely with edited materials (p. 292). With adequate reading strategies, students in elementary language courses could read stimulating texts geared to their intellectual maturity.

Unedited texts

One such strategy could involve dispensing with traditional grammar-rule presentations in favor of recognition training, particularly in regard to syntactic patterns. Burling (13) suggests that introductory materials in which foreign language syntax is used in an English text could facilitate recognition learning. The novice reader could be introduced to unfamiliar surface structure without having to process lexical interference at the same time. For example, a series of sentences such as "next sharpen we our pencils" demonstrates one type of characteristic sentence structure in German.

This suggestion does not imply that students can equate a first language with a second language or translate from one language to the other. Instead, syntactic training should rest on the theoretical conviction that language processing in the human brain is similar regardless of what language is being learned. Experimental mentalism, the school of psycholinguistics originating in the precepts of generative grammar, posits that a speaker's grammatical structures reflect his or her psychological reality (Fodor et al., 41). In other words, not only the choice of vocabulary, but also grammatical features such as sentence complexity mirror the speaker's intentions and perceptions. Languages are viewed as systems that share certain elements–that is, parts of speech, repetitive syntactic structures associated with asking and telling, and the like. Experimental mentalists assume that the psychological reality in the foreign language speaker's or listener's mind results from processing data in a system analogous to the native language.

Bilingualism in a new light

Such thinking has led some foreign language teachers to reevaluate assumptions about compound and coordinate bilingualism. Traditionally, compound bilinguals have been assumed to encode their thoughts into their native language before transforming this version into the second language. The coordinate bilingual, however, is assumed to encode directly into the second language (Brooks, 11). Kirstein and Vincenz (69) argue that if generative grammarians are correct in postulating that deep structure processes are universal, "both compound and coordinate bilinguals would go certain stretches of the way together in their respective encoding, instead of going different ways from the very beginning" (p. 159). In effect, compound bilinguals may undertake a portion of their encoding at the level of universal processes. They may not need an entirely new set of separate rules to process a second language. One possible extrapolation from Kirstein and Vincenz's article is that it may be possible someday to establish a considerably reduced set of grammar rules for learning specific foreign languages. That would be a new freedom well worth pursuing.

A set of language-specific grammar rules essential for reading comprehension in a given foreign language would have to develop from knowledge about the grammar-processing rules that apply universally. At present, information is simply lacking. A further variable stems from the fact that there seem to be two kinds of learning personalities among second language students. Hatch (55) characterizes one group as rule formers, learners displaying a clear evolution in stages of their acquisition sequence. The second learning type is the data gatherer, the learner who seems to accumulate forms in such a way that at no point can the researcher say with certainty that a particular rule has been acquired. Hatch reports that the sequence of acquisition seems to be a combination of three factors: 1) the frequency with which a particular form appears in the input data, 2) the semantic importance of various forms, and 3) the particular "learning personalities" (p. 419). If Hatch is correct, the demand for mastery learning of grammatical levels commonly made in foreign language testing may be inadequate to assess the manner in which some of our students are, in fact, learning. Hatch's data may also be used in support of early reading in unsimplified texts.

Learning personalities

Pidginization and FL learning

Another system of second language processing has been suggested by recent analyses of pidginization. Pidgin develops between people who speak different languages and who want to communicate transactions of a largely utilitarian nature (traders and natives, soldiers in a foreign country, for example). Pidgin dialects include many features of communication that second language students exhibit. Schumann (124) suggests that pidginized speech in second language learning is a reflection of limited communication demands. The persistence of pidginized forms indicates that the situation in which many learners find themselves necessitates no more than highly reduced, simplified language. Nonnative speakers can get a cup of coffee whether they say "Please coffee" or "May I have a cup of coffee, please." Second language students who achieve native competence are, Schumann hypothesizes, motivated not by communicative needs so much as a desire to acculturate. Utilitarian expediencies can be dealt with in pidgin and hence, motivation to communicate will, by itself, not be sufficient to encourage learning strategies that result in spoken and written proficiency.

Selinker (126) suggests that only about 5 percent of all foreign language learners achieve performance competency comparable to that of native speakers. Instead, he hypothesizes, most students use pidgin because pidgin exhibits in its surface structure the psychologically relevant information of the second language. He believes that a pidginized second language is an intermediate system analogous to the base structure or psychological meaning level of the learner's mother tongue.

Corder (22), Nemser (91), and Selinker (126) have hypothesized a second language learner's "interlanguage," an approximate system that he or she uses to mediate between the familiar native and the unfamiliar target language systems. Nemser suggests that a sophisticated contrastive strategy for second language learning would operate on three levels: the native language, the foreign language, and the learner's pidginized approximation of the two.

These insights imply a reading strategy in which the novice foreign language student's first step is to pinpoint the meaningful interlanguage level of the text under the assumption that this would approximate his or her psychological perception of meaning. Students could, for example, select words from a prose text that make pidgin sense out of the whole. In the sentence "Fifty years ago few people believed that it would be possible to fly to the moon," the student might underline *people, believe, fly, moon,* adding a negation marker or *not*. For each set of underlined words, the syntactic pattern of the sentence could be identified. In English this would involve assessing whether the sentence was a statement, negation, question, or supposition for which the cue markers function in Germanic and Romance languages much as they do in English, using words such as *not, perhaps, if* and the like. This kind of foreign language reading strategy has a twofold theoretical advantage: 1) A comprehension detour into English could be avoided because the reader would bypass translation in favor of the reduction and simplification processes which convey meaning at the level of his or her psychological reality. 2) The pattern recognition skills that are apparently essential for later fluent reading can be encouraged.

One interpretation of this strategy has been suggested by

Mueller (86). He emphasizes that the primary need of high school and college second language learners is to be trained in assigning messages to grammatical functions so that, ultimately, this process can take place unconsciously. Mueller proposes a three-stage reading assignment which he believes corresponds with the processing stages of mature nonnative readers. He identifies these stages as sensing (grasping the initial general impression of a written or oral message), segmenting (identifying the syntactic pattern, tense, and relevant morphological features), and recoding (summarizing at the level of psychological reality or nucleus meaning).

Sensing, segmenting and recoding

Mueller suggests a progression from recognition to production skills. Level One would involve recognition only. The student would be asked to repeat, copy, or underline essential elements in a text. Next, recall and production at a simple level are obtained through assignment of oral summaries or a written précis. Finally, the student would be asked to amplify this information by adding some adverbial or adjectival phrases, a task involving considerable linguistic sophistication. The issue is whether a learning strategy that combines recognition and production skills will result in better reading comprehension than a strategy directed toward recognition skills.

A new grammar

Current speculation about the relationship between reading ability and knowledge of foreign language grammar rules could lead to radically new approaches to foreign language reading. Pelosi (99), reviewing recent literature on foreign language grammar, concludes that the entire concept is undergoing reassessment. We find a trend away from grammar rules in the abstract and toward applications of pattern recognition in early reading experience. The capability of high school and college students to transfer their linguistic sophistication is being acknowledged, thus supporting early presentation of unedited foreign language texts. From research in English as a native language we are learning about the importance of purposeful reading and questioning techniques. Moreover, pidgin speech is being recognized as a valid interim stage in the foreign language student's evolution toward linguistic sophistication. These insights are resulting in a trend placing development of comprehension skills before demands for production.

Factors in vocabulary building

Native language vocabulary learning

The bulk of the information we have on vocabulary learning stems from native language studies. For this reason, Lord (76) suggests a thorough investigation of first language vocabulary learning to shed light on the processes involved. He considers this aspect of any language "the most sizeable and unmanageable component" (p. 247) and deplores the foreign language profession's "lack of awareness of the nature and function of vocabulary" (p. 239). He points out that foreign language teaching materials generally reduce vocabulary to "Cinderella" status, relegating it to stepchild treatment with word lists or substitution drills.

Attempts to integrate recent native language research have emphasized the intimate relationship between a lexical item and the syntactic or grammatical environment in which it occurs (Barrie, 6). Cowan (23) views reading in any language as a decoding process in which syntax and vocabulary are the two major factors that determine whether comprehension takes place. The author describes an English as a foreign language (ESL) research program that encourages students to recognize the relationship between these two factors in technical prose. His research design is geared for student discovery of meaning in a reading situation rather than superimposition of language rules to cover all hypothetical cases.

Possibly the appropriateness of integrating vocabulary learning depends, like the assumption of syntactic transference, on learner maturity. In a native language test of word recognition capability among second grade pupils, Melling (83) had one group read words aloud and contrasted their performance with a group that read sentences aloud. He concluded that young children apparently grasp the meaning of words in isolation as well as words in a reading context. Melling's results do not apply directly to most foreign language learning situations because the children were reading English words already familiar to them through oral contact, whereas most second language learners are not only older, but are also facing a vocabulary unfamiliar in oral as well as written use. The study is suggestive, however, of the kind of information that can be obtained from foreign language students of various ages so that we can develop

FL data needed

optimal procedures for classroom practice and assignments.

Grammar concepts and meaning

Some native language vocabulary research seems to have immediate bearing on foreign language learning. Frye (44) compared the capability of retarded and normal pupils to assign appropriate meaning to unknown words in context. In the accuracy of identifying meanings of nouns, adjectives, and verbs, her results bore out the previous native language studies in which assigning meaning to nouns in context was found to be significantly easier than to adjectives and verbs. Such findings indicate that guessing procedures that result in recognition skill should focus on nouns, whereas a better strategy for adjectives and verbs may be the use of mnemonic devices such as visualization to aid in recall learning. The fact that the meaning of nouns seems to be most readily inferred from a reading context is, in itself, good news for foreign language learners because the greatest incidence of unfamiliar words in unedited foreign language texts is nouns; some estimates are as high as 90 percent.

Role of frequency

The frequency with which a word appears in a text also has some relationship to recognition. McCormack and Swenson (81) tested the ability of college-aged speakers of English to recognize common (high-frequency words appearing in many contexts) and rare words (low-frequency items with a narrow range of meaning). The authors cite the conflicting conclusions of previous investigations, conflicts they assert are now resolved by this study's "unequivocal evidence" (p. 76) in favor of recognition memory for rare items. The findings of McCormack and Swenson suggest two channels for research in foreign language learning. First, one should not assume that frequency of occurrence will result in vocabulary recognition. Second, we should investigate to what extent and in what ways the sheer unfamiliarity of foreign language vocabulary may be a factor facilitating recognition. Direct comparisons between foreign language and native language vocabulary learning processes could establish whether a correlation exists. Until then we can do no more than draw tentative inferences from native language research.

Another case in point, where it would be instructive to have a parallel foreign language study, is in work comparing the efficacy of retrieval strategies for recall and recognition. Using word lists, Smith (132) tested tenth and eleventh graders in forced-choice recognition and free-recall performances. The recognition section included measurements of the amount of time that elapsed before each item was identified and the confidence with which judgments were made. Tests were administered one day and one week subsequent to exposure to the word lists. Smith's conclusions bore out the assumption that recognition is fundamentally different from free recall. Recognition memory, whether long-term or short-term, was not dependent on retrieval plans such as the organization of materials. Recall memory, however, proved to be so closely tied to presentation strategies that the learning appeared to be extremely resistant to any subsequent changes.

Recognition vs. recall

Virtually any type of mnemonic device (memorization in terms of another construct such as singing the ABC's to "Twinkle, twinkle, little star") will aid in recall of vocabulary. Probably the most effective mnemonic strategy is visualization. Despite its acknowledged effectiveness as a memory aid, visualization has been objected to on the grounds that it discourages sequential learning ("dynamic" recall) because a picture is static whereas a sentence moves from one word to another. To test this objection, Bugelski (12), working with native speakers, designed a serial list of 20 words. He instructed his experimental groups to "try to form an image of each word as it was spoken and to try to incorporate this image with the prior image in some interaction" (p. 299). A typical sequence was *fire, cigar, wheel.* Two scores were obtained–one for the total number of words correctly recalled and one for words recalled in sequence, that is, as responses to a prior word. *Wheel* would be counted for total recall but not in serial recall if the cue word was *fire*. In both categories, imagers (students who visualized words) proved to be "greatly superior" to nonimagers (p. 298). Over 10 percent of the students recalled 20 words in sequence after a single presentation; some were even able to recite the list backwards, indicating a high degree of sequential flexibility. Another finding was that both learning capacity and retention of image learning far exceeded the recognized norms in verbal studies. Extrapolating from Bugelski's experiment, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that asking for foreign language students to generate their own images of a word facilitates recall dramatically for imagers. Strategies in which students relate images in sequential pictures should result in verbal flexibility.

Visualization

Bugelski's experiments yielded comparable results with both college seniors and eighth graders. Apparently many students from a broad range of maturity levels can benefit from imagery learning. The amount of time needed for optimal visualization is a further factor to be researched in the foreign language learning situation. Bugelski reported that the group allowed six seconds per word outperformed a group allowed only five seconds per word. Possibly, adjunct assignments such as asking students to draw rough sketches of reading passages would reinforce recall by integrating static and dynamic visualization processes.

Visuals and vocabulary

Virtually no foreign language research exists on the use of student-generated visualization practices. One recent study was designed to test whether student exposure to pictures prepared by the teacher eliminated translation in initial foreign language learning. Using college students who knew no Russian or German, Hammerly (53) pronounced the German or Russian word for *airplane, bird, deer, train,* and *tree* three times while students viewed a drawing of the word uttered. Immediately following this presentation, students were given a series of interview questions: "How did you think of meaning? Did you just think the word must mean x-y-z in English? Did you just connect the concept in the picture with the foreign language without thinking in English" (p. 222)? On the basis of answers, Hammerly confirmed his hypothesis that students thought of words in English despite exposure to pictures. Because many students supplied words such as *branches* or *trunk* for *tree,* Hammerly concluded that pictures were unreliable in conveying the meaning of concrete objects and, presumably, even less reliable for abstract concepts. Perhaps, however, Hammerly's study merely highlights the fact that the strategy with which visual aids are employed will largely determine their effectiveness. In this instance, a series of contextualized pictures, rather than pictures in isolation, could reduce the range of speculation. A study might be conducted, for example, in which the pronounced word was accompanied by the appropriate picture to complete a foreign language sentence such as "The bird flew into the ______"(tree). Such applications could not only lead to more accurate conceptualization, but might also yield quite different results in regard to the incidence of translation, particularly if students already had some knowledge of the foreign language. It is more realistic to use pictures as props to avoid translation after students have command of sufficient vocabulary to supply synonyms or formulate simple ideas in the target language.

On the basis of native language research, student-generated visualization techniques for recall learning deserve serious consideration by foreign language teachers. However, pictures to facilitate recognition learning should be used with careful controls to eliminate variables such as those mentioned in the evaluation of Hammerly's study.

Rehearsal and recall

In contrast with research on visualization, native language experiments on the effect of oral repetition (rehearsal) indicate that requiring older students to read aloud may not enhance their ability to reproduce words in sequence and may in fact interfere with their recall process. Comparing the performance of second graders and fifth graders, Leslie (74) gave each child a short-term memory task. A set of six pictures was shown in sequence, then put face down and scrambled. The control groups for each grade level simply rearranged the pictures. The rehearsal groups named each picture as it was first presented prior to the scrambling procedure. Second grade groups showed only slight variations, but fifth graders who rehearsed did not recall sequences as well as those who had merely looked at the pictures. Leslie's findings support Gattegno's (45) hypothesis about older foreign language learners. Gattegno believes that when auditory material is introduced into short-term memory before prior information has faded from it, the later sounds will interfere with the person's ability to process and assimilate the earlier ones.

To be clear about strategies such as having students repeat new vocabulary after the teacher, teachers must establish how rehearsal affects recall. Conceivably, this practice may be inadvisable in terms of optimum student learning. However, native language work indicates that recognition memory (as opposed to recall) may be enhanced through other types of oral work such as expressive reading aloud. Stice (137) tested the relationship between silent reading comprehension and the ability of sixth graders to read aloud with appropriate contrastive stress. She confirmed her hypothesis that a significant degree of correlation exists. She concluded that the teaching of standard intonation patterns may result in improved reading and listening comprehension.

Reading aloud in class

This type of data on mature foreign language students would help resolve the current controversy about whether asking students to read aloud in class is helpful. To train individuals to read expressively as a reading comprehension strategy may be advisable but wasteful for the rest of the class to sit by and listen. Reading aloud may benefit the reader when the objective is to practice correct intonational stress. The benefits of being read to must be substantiated, particularly for mature foreign language students.

Production vs. recognition

Reviewing the strategy picture, the key distinction that emerges is between production and recognition training. Most of the puzzle pieces group naturally into one mode or the other. Whether in native language or foreign language research, recognition memory seems to respond to different strategies than recall memory. Apparently the amount of student recall or recognition will be influenced by different modes of retrieval. Gattegno (45) found that students unable to recall words immediately following presentation of new vocabulary recalled the information at a later time and without additional presentations. Apparently the lapse in recall ability was not due to a learning failure, but rather to a lack of sufficient processing time.

Accessibility of recall and recognition skills may be related to whether strategies are aimed at total or sequential learning. Because the temporal or sequential dimension is a basic characteristic of language production (Oller, 92), procedures that encourage sequential or "dynamic" recall, such as student-generated visualization connecting vocabulary or events, seem particularly applicable for recall learning. In contrast, recognition memory is not bound by the sequential organization of language production. Possibly, recognition memory responds better to static than to dynamic visualization. Future research in this area is needed so that conjecture about optimal cognitive processes can be replaced with factual evidence gleaned from second language learners.

Even with the limited indications available at this time, reading for comprehension seems to rely heavily on strategies geared for effective recognition learning. If reading is going to be the foundation for a foreign language program, a gradual transition from recognition to production activities is indicated. It may be more important to distinguish between these two objectives than has been recognized, because both native language and foreign language research indicates that learning interference may occur if both kinds of strategies are employed simultaneously.

Classroom practices for a new reading

Current practice

Most programs introduce students to a second language as a process of rule and vocabulary memorization. Even first-year books reflecting an audiolingual orientation consist largely of paradigms. Pattern drills are essentially reviews of grammar structure rather than communication practice. Similarly, textbook dialogues offer no more than simulated communication. In recognition of the inadequacies of artificial situations and abstractions about language use, new practices such as work with student-generated materials or motor response to commands are being developed.

Levels and objectives

While recognition of the close relationship between genuine communication and language learning is bringing about changes in first-year programs, the foreign language learner frequently experiences a breach between his or her initial exposure to the language and the reading comprehension demands of advanced work. Passages for reading in first- and second-year high school and first-year college texts comprise no more than 10 to 20 percent of the average total format. Generally, sentences in these texts are carefully edited so that they do not exceed 15 to 20 words in length, and a carefully controlled vocabulary is restricted to a 300-word maximum. Third- and fourth-year high school or second-year college courses confront students with syntactically sophisticated texts, unedited sentences, and a 15,000- to 20,000-word vocabulary.

Because of this discrepancy between the kind of skill being developed and the learning materials with which the student is challenged, learners can proceed to advanced courses without demonstrating reading ability. A student may, for example, be able to produce the correct relative pronoun in a short simple sentence, but fail to identify the correct antecedent to the same pronoun in the identical reading passage. Because production skills have been presumed to lead to reading comprehension, such problems do not attract attention, or when they do, student failure is attributed to faulty grammar learning rather than to training in recognition skills.

To prepare students to read we must commence with the same assumption made by native language educators: The key to developing reading skill is practice in reading. This is the shared insight that characterizes the top of the pyramid puzzle. The new practices and techniques in foreign language teaching which have been generated by this insight rest on the same theoretical base and rely on similar strategies. Essentially we are even asking the same questions. What constitutes readability? What are the steps leading from preliminary reading to actual fluency? What materials build toward reading comprehension? On the basis of information available to us at this time, what kind of program will maximize reading ability?

Readability

New-word density

Selection of a readable foreign language text has been delimited in terms of two factors–syntactic difficulty and new word density–that have placed a challenging reading game outside the rookies' ballpark. Holley's (57) work suggests that traditional views on the rate of new vocabulary introduction bear revision. She tested second-semester college students of German, using three versions of one story with the sole variable the percentage increase of unfamiliar words, and discovered that even an incidence as high as one in every 15 running words did not significantly diminish reading comprehension. She concluded that students could tolerate new words at a rate almost double that of the previously accepted norm of one in every 25 running words. Holley's research implies that comprehending context and key ideas may be more important than rate of vocabulary introduction in any given text.

Rejecting readability formulas because they rely heavily on new-word density, recent native language research has been conducted in search of new measures of readability. Marks et al. (79) tested sixth graders to ascertain whether minor variations in meaningfulness in a limited number of words contribute to comprehension of the total story. In a comparative study involving more than 200 children, investigators discovered that reading comprehension increased on an average of 25 percent among students reading sample stories in which low-frequency words were replaced with high-frequency synonyms. The substitution involved no more than 15 percent of the total vocabulary, and all other factors were kept constant. For example, the sentence "You may judge I have lost my mind" was altered to read "You may think I have lost my mind" (p. 260). Researchers concluded that "slight increases in word frequency of a small percentage of words in reading materials can produce sizable increases in story comprehension" (p. 262).

We need to find out whether this information is applicable to adolescent and adult foreign language learners. Even lacking such evidence, a number of suggestions for editing beginning second language texts are implied. Rather than drastic simplification, substituting a small percentage of high-frequency words for low-frequency words occurring in the original may be sufficient. For those objecting to any editing whatsoever, glossing in the target language may be a preferable alternative.

Arguing that texts need not be edited to be readable, Chapman has devised a readability formula for beginner's texts that expands and, at the same time, simplifies the selection process. Chapman also identifies five additional readability criteria: format, style of expression, plot, organization, and idea density. The formula was tested in an experiment with more than 300 second-semester college students of Spanish and German. Chapman assessed six stories (three in German and three in Spanish) in terms of her seven criteria. Some stories displayed all seven factors (hypothetically yielding optimal comprehension) while others were ranked lower, exhibiting only five or six of the desirable features. Results showed a direct correlation between the number of positive factors and comprehension performance on a 20-item multiple-choice test administered immediately after the story had been read. She found that stories with only five positive factors were read with less comprehension of basic facts than stories with six, and stories with six less than stories with all seven.

Readability factors

Based on these results, stories with fewer than five positive factors were judged unsuitable for second-semester students. The application and validity of Chapman's formula to a range of foreign language reading levels and to non-Western European languages has yet to be established. However, since this system provides the instructor with a set of standards that can be established in little more than the time it takes to read the text in question, it deserves the profession's serious attention.

While further data on readability criteria, new-word density, and high- versus low-frequency words is needed, foreign language teachers and textbook writers have new options in selecting reading materials for their students. Our choices are no longer restricted by the two facets beyond the cognitive capability of the novice–new-word density and syntactic complexity. Chapman's five additional criteria can be summed up as a focus on story meaning. In this sense, the most important feature of new concepts about the constituents of readability is that meaning and context are being acknowledged as guides to text selections.

Preliminary reading

Before even the most readable texts can be approached with an aim toward reading fluency, optimal techniques for introducing reading should be identified. The native language model is based on the assumption that the reader, a child of five or six, has both speaking and listening skills. The mature foreign language learner may have different needs. At this juncture work by educators such as Postovsky (106) and Winitz and Reeds (155) strongly suggests that avoidance of speaking at the early stages of language learning is a better strategy. Carroll (16) cites the research in cognitive psychology in substantiation of the assertion that the preferable foreign language learning sequence is one that "passes from receptive to productive tasks" (p. 135). Current opinion on the correlation of production skills to reading comprehension is divided: Some argue that the capability of generating meaningful utterances is vital to reading comprehension; others deny this viewpoint in the conviction that, for mature second language learners, both listening and reading should precede demands for speaking and writing. Evidence in favor of the receptive skills approach, while still limited in scope, is increasing.

Reception and production

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Citing research in oral practice programs compared with listening comprehension approaches, Postovsky (106) argues that speaking practice is not a logical starting point. His own initial exposure program in Russian simply dispensed with word pronunciation and sentence generation for the first four weeks of class meetings. This variable yielded a significantly higher performance level when nonspeakers were compared with speakers in otherwise identical learning situations.

Asher (3) bypasses pronunciation drill through the use of imperative drill. Instead of verbal response, he trains for appropriate physical response. Apparently, any type of imperative drill enhances language learning at the initial stages. However, the mean recall of groups who performed commands was consistently higher than that of groups who visualized or witnessed the identical activity. Asher found a high degree of positive transfer from listening skills to speaking, reading, and writing.

Asher compared the four skills of an imperative drill group with those of first- and second-semester college students. With 45 hours of classroom instruction and no homework, this group performed at the level of a second-semester college class with 150 class hours and homework assignments. "Perhaps the most important finding," Asher reports, "was the large magnitude of transfer from listening to other skills" (p. 30). After a series of comparative studies in Western European languages such as Spanish and German as well as non-Western languages such as Japanese, Asher concluded that "the movement of the body seems to be a powerful mediator for the understanding, organization, and storage of macrodetails (phrases and sentences) of linguistic input. Language can be internalized in chunks, but alternate strategies must be developed for fine-tuning to microdetails" (phonemes, individual letters and words) (p. 31).

Transfer from listening

Microdetails: first stage

In effect, the fine-tuning for microdetails is the first stage in the reader's progress toward macrocomprehension. Students must start at the bottom of the foreign language reading model rather than at the top (Figure 3, p. 178).

In Western European languages letter recognition is a question of matching a familiar orthographic system, the Latin alphabet, to an unfamiliar phonological system. Work in second language immersion programs (Lambert, 71; Swain, 139) suggests that reading a new code is not a difficult new task. The problem is how to approach the code. Just as in native language reading (Chall, 18), the "great debate" is whether to teach by the phonics or the basal ("look-say" or whole-word) identification method. Some foreign language educators feel that to concentrate on whole words at the outset and delay phonics altogether is best (Paine, 96). In a resumé of research on this question, Hatch (55) concludes that most ESL teachers have turned to the whole-word approach or the pattern-recognition system (*fat, sat, bat, cat*). She stresses that either approach "seems to work fairly well *if* comprehension is also stressed and *if* the method is supplemented with experience materials and some phonics work" (p. 58).

These experience materials are suggested by work such as that of Harris (54), who tested university ESL students in a variety of word-recognition tasks. He discovered that students had virtually no difficulty matching words on a separate list (*sing* matched with the correct answer, given the words *sink, sins, sing*) and were equally adept with word-pair tasks (*poor day/poor pay*). Students proved significantly slower in identifying synonyms (*shut* matched with the correct synonym, given the words *watch, close, sleep, need*) and same/different tasks for synonyms (*stop* matched with *go*; *speak* matched with *talk*).

His study does not tell us whether matching words and word pairs is more than a phoneme/grapheme exercise. The fact that students could perform well on a test involving no more than recognizing irregularities in the orthographic system indicates that in the case of Western European languages such training can be relegated to the initial weeks devoted to recoding an already familiar visual and acoustic system. The second set of tasks, identifying meanings, presents more difficulties, and therefore, more extensive training in such tasks may be indicated. Research is needed to establish whether students trained to identify synonyms and antonyms achieve reading fluency as rapidly and as well as students using identical materials but not participating in such exercises. Because reading speed and key-word comprehension reveal a high degree of correlation, such training should prove worthwhile.

Improving the reading rate of the foreign language learner is, however, not just a question of learning to identify individual words more rapidly. Tullius (141) conducted an eye-movement study with college ESL students to discover what kind of eye fixation a reader uses when confronted with a foreign language text. He set out to ascertain whether slower reading speeds result from an increase in eye fixation per line or a regression on the part of the student who, faced with comprehension difficulties, checks back over the line. Students did neither. The explanation for their slower reading speed lay with the duration of eye fixations. Their fixations were in other respects identical to the kind and number of progressive sequences students used when reading native language texts. These results may represent a further instance of reading skill transfer.

Role of stress

One factor that could account for the second language reader's longer eye fixation is a failure to discriminate between accented and unaccented syllables and between function words (prepositions, definite articles, conjunctions) and content words (nouns, verbs). We do not wish to imply that the meanings of function words are unimportant. Native language studies such as Foust's (42) indicate that the ability to identify the relationships signaled by prepositions, for example, correlates significantly with reading comprehension. We do assume, however, that native language readers know prepositions as a result of predictions based on content words as they relate syntactically to function words. Additional eye fixation time can be accounted for because nonnatives are not adept at predicting meaning on the basis of large chunks of the foreign language that their eyes are registering in the same fashion that they register when reading a text in their native language.

Hatch (55) reports an experimental test in which university ESL students and native speakers were asked to cross out specified vowels in a short reading passage. Native language readers crossed out vowels in content words and stressed syllables only. Nonnatives crossed out every occurrence. Asked to eliminate all *a*'s, they did so, whereas native speakers crossed out only the second *a* but not the first in words like *apparently* (p. 56).

Intonation and reading fluency

Hatch's findings suggest that nonnative readers fail to discriminate between significant and insignificant orthographic features. One preliminary exercise to train students in this kind of discrimination would be to have them cross out vowels according to the pattern of native language readers—eliminating only vowels occurring in accented syllables of content words.

In conjunction with this type of exercise, training in individual expressive reading aloud might prove a useful supplement. Hatch's data seem to indicate that a correlation between reading with appropriate intonational stress and reading comprehension ability may exist.

Training in recognition of appropriate intonational patterns need not involve reading aloud in class. Beattie (8) and Paine (96) marshall formidable arguments against reading aloud as a classroom activity, stressing primarily the pitfalls of boredom, student inhibition, and reduced confidence. They suggest that silent reading provides students with a superior type of practice in promoting reading fluency. While students read silently, instructors can assist individuals with comprehension problems and the class as a whole can be instructed to note words they are not certain how to pronounce. In this fashion the student can assume responsibility for his or her pronunciation review. As has been emphasized earlier, strategies that encourage student-directed learning produce significantly better results.

The time allotted to grapheme recognition of word units and intonational stress should be brief but sufficient for students to be ready to progress to larger macro-units of meaning. A concentration on sentence units such as phrases is sometimes referred to as reading by structure. Plaister (103) has suggested giving second language students practice in reading by phrases, asking them to rewrite passages so that each column is one phrase wide. Students are not expected to read a column per eye fixation; rather, this process is intended to train them in grouping meaningful grammatical units. In this sense it is an exercise in syntax as a function of communication.

Visuals in reading training

A somewhat different approach to syntax or structure identification is suggested by the work of Winitz and Reeds (155). They propose using visuals to train students in identifying phonological, morphological, and syntactic features of a second language. A series of four picture sets was devised and shown to pupils in conjunction with a verbal statement. Students were asked, for example, to select the pencils from illustrations of three pencils, two pens, one pencil, and a paint brush. The picture sets graduate from the level of phonological discrimination (selecting *the ship* from a pictorial sequence including *sheep* and *shop*) to syntactic comprehension of antecedents or the receiver of action in a sentence in the passive voice.

For implementation of such reading preparation exercises, in most instances, the teacher must rely upon his or her ingenuity as materials of this kind are not available on the commercial market. Where overhead projectors or slide projectors can be utilized, exercises can be devised that are not prohibitive in time or funds. Particularly in high school classes, students can be involved in preparation of materials such as picture sets and phrase columns. Ultimately, if convinced this were a selling feature, book publishers could be swayed to shift from an oral to a visual emphasis in the preparation of supplementary materials.

Whether commercially feasible or not, teacher-devised visuals are becoming recognized aids in the teaching of reading. Stevenson (135) introduces expository material to Iranian students of English using 35-mm slides rather than printed handouts because initial group practice enables the instructor to check students' reading habits, prevent marginal translation, and preclude the use of crutches that lead to word-for-word reading such as following a text with a finger or pencil.

Cloze technique

Another use for slides or overhead projectors in this reading preparatory stage is with modified reading passages altered solely by a pattern of lexical omissions known as the *cloze* reading procedure. Cloze techniques are widely accepted both as teaching and measurement tools in native language reading. Prange (108), for example, predicted performance of sixth graders with equal accuracy using structural cloze deletion (every fifth word in a written passage replaced by a blank except for the first and last sentences) and lexical cloze deletion (every third noun, verb, adverb, or adjective—that is, content words only). Edwards (31) found the procedure, equally useful in work with mature students and nonfactual texts, to measure reading comprehension of poetry among college freshmen and found the ability to guess appropriate words from a multiple-choice list correlated with comprehension of the poem's content. At present, this highly effective device has not been adequately researched in foreign language learning.

The cloze procedure would seem useful to foreign language educators. Apparently the ability to complete cloze units either by filling in the blanks or being able to comprehend meaning without identifying the deleted words reflects considerable sophistication about grammatical and semantic cues. It is an accurate measure of inferential and reasoning processes, as Smith (130) illustrates with the following example:

> "The young ______ wrote the prizewinning song" can only be filled by a noun, because verbs, prepositions, and other alternatives are eliminated by grammatical relations among the observable elements of the sentence. But the sequential information is also semantic; we know that such nouns as *rock, octogenarian, heifer, tablecloth* must also be excluded by the sense of the other words (pp. 193–94).

Training in reading cloze passages can teach the foreign language student how to go about reducing the range of meanings that can adhere to an unfamiliar word. Such exercises would also increase student awareness that striving for precise knowledge of every word in a text is not necessary for comprehension and may, in fact, defeat that objective.

Transition texts

Another potentially valuable comprehension exercise that lends itself to visual aids is the previously cited "outlandish" proposal of Burling (13). He suggests a gradual transition from native language to foreign language texts. First, an English passage is modified so that French word order is used. Additional elements in French are added until the original has been completely transcribed into standard French. The number and type of stages would depend on the needs of the students. Perhaps in part because it is so "outlandish," Burling's suggestion exemplifies the new freedoms inherent in many of the previous proposals. The procedure would be used with beginning readers under the assumption that the syntactic abilities of mature students can be transferred to foreign language reading. Second, they are taught contrastive grammar in a communication context rather than through a set of abstract rules. The objection that "fractured English" should be avoided can be countered with recent work in psycholinguistics indicating that pidgin speech and interim experimentation represent necessary steps leading toward second language competence.

Recommendations

Preliminary materials to prepare for reading fluency should be introduced in the course of the first-semester college and first-year high school language program. This introduction might be preceded by practice in listening comprehension skills stressing communication. Our suggestions for preliminary reading exercises are arranged in progressive stages whose objective is to provide a transition from visual processing of microdetails to skill in predicting macrodetails on the basis of limited visual cues.

Materials designed for microdetail recognition

1 Training in letter/word discrimination in both oral and written tasks (*sink/sing*)
2 Training in synonym and antonym identification with reliance on carefully constructed picture sets as well as written exercises

Transition to macrodetails

1 Training students in identifying intonational stress patterns through listening to versions that express a variety of emotions or specific types of emphasis and contrast appropriate intonational readings
2 Timed exercises that train students to cross out specified vowels in the accented syllables of content words
3 Asking students to rewrite passages in a column of meaningful phrases, preferably as a classroom activity stressing speed and followed by immediate verification
4 Class or individual student use of picture sets designed to train students in comprehension of phonological, morphological, and syntactic complexities
5 Modifying materials either through use of slides or overhead projectors (alternatively in the form of handouts), using one or more of the following approaches:
   a) A series of graded transitions from the native to the target language (Burling, 13)
   b) A transition from identifying core meaning (skeleton sentences) to recognizing linguistic embellishments in the sentences (Mueller, 86)
   c) Reading passages modified by cloze procedures to train inferencing and prediction skills

d) Phrase columns extrapolated from a reading passage to train students to read larger units rather than word for word

Training for reading fluency

Intensive/extensive reading

Timing the introduction of production skills in a reading-emphasis program remains one of the enigmas in the puzzle. We assume that at some point in the program production ability will facilitate recognition of macrodetails and enhance reading comprehension. One simple method for introducing production skills is the intensive/extensive reading distinction (King, 66). Intensive reading is done with one paragraph or key section selected from the comprehension reading assignment, the "extensive" reading. If the paragraph chosen contains the essential features of Chapman's (20) readability criteria, it can be representative of the vocabulary, ideas, and characteristic style and syntax of the text. Because the extensive reading is assigned concomitantly, the intensive reading passage narrows the students' range of prediction through in-depth exposure to one part from which they can generalize about the whole. For example, the class is assigned a story about a German prisoner of war who was captured in Russia. The intensive reading paragraph deals with a conversation between the prisoner and a Russian peasant. The conversation takes place in the man's home while the two are sharing a homemade alcoholic drink. Aside from questions of style and vocabulary, the student familiar with this section of the story can predict that the prisoner is not suffering severe physical hardship and that the story will probably focus on the relationship between the prisoner and his captors.

The intensive reading can augment the extensive assignment more effectively if the instructor stresses the grammatical and semantic features of the paragraph that recur or are varied throughout the story. When these characteristics of the narrative are evident to the reader, apprehension that "something is being missed" will be reduced. Psychologically, the conviction that only precision reading yields comprehension can constitute a severe problem for adult readers urged to read for meaning rather than word for word. However, results such as Ferguson's (39) suggest that extensive reading on a massive scale and augmented by training to increase reading rate may be a completely adequate "comprehension/development" strategy. Investigations are needed to ascertain the effect of massive reading programs occurring immediately after the introductory level of language learning.

Suggestions for massive reading programs have centered on specialized reading (for example, scientific, journalistic, literary). Proposals of this kind frequently refer to the concept of register. The register of any given text consists of the words and phrases whose meaning and grammar features are restricted by the particular reading context. The register concept offers the student a vocabulary inferencing strategy. The applications of register in foreign language reading are just beginning to be explored.

Register

King (67) has suggested that a part of the extensive reading assignment should involve asking students to underline words and phrases representing a specified semantic emphasis in the text. Such a procedure encourages global inferencing–grouping words into generic categories prior to isolating their discrete meaning in a given linguistic environment (see Raffestin, 109; Smith, 129). In a scientific discussion of immunization research, for example, students are asked to "select words and phrases having to do with disease." In a Kafka story they are told to identify bureaucratic language. Students discover that, although they may not be able to provide either a translation or a German synonym for many of the concepts they select, recognizing the vocabulary category brings them closer to specific meaning. (This word has something to do with disease; it is a noun; the sentence pattern is negative; and so on). If this task is followed by class discussion of the specific contextual meaning, recall of the concepts selected seems to be facilitated.

Smith (130) has concluded that contextual inference is the only feasible approach to identifying word meaning in a reading passage because most lexical items have too wide a range of dictionary meaning to convey specific information. Extrapolating from Smith, the foreign language teacher can help the student delineate global categories ("disease") and then proceed to partition this category into various subgroups (mental or physical; fatal or nonfatal). This type of feature listing can be grammatical as well as semantic. In less formal fashion, this elimina-

Word categories

tion procedure approximates the cognitive processes the reader employs when confronted with a cloze passage.

Once the type of words and the parameters of their implications in a given reading context have been established, the foreign language reader has limits to the degree of comprehension error that can result from his or her inferencing and predicting. Because register narrows the reader's guesswork to virtual certainties, one alternative to massive reading on an eclectic basis has been early specialization. Heron (56) reports that a programmed course in Russian scientific reading renders "understanding grammar in the traditional sense unnecessary" (p. 78) because the content of the material is geared to the student's "specialized knowledge, rather than being reduced to the level of his 'foreign language competence'" (p. 78).

Register categories

White (154) illustrates the operation of Heron's claim with his identification of characteristic features for scientific writing. He uses the three categories, "field", "mode", and "tenor." Since the tenor (addressee relationship) of scientific reading is formal and impersonal, the passive voice, for example, will occur frequently. At the same time, there will be a distinct absence of personal pronouns. Similarly, if the field (range of subject matter) is scientific reporting, there will be a preponderance of simple past and present neutral (to be, have) verb forms (pp. 132–35). White's categories demonstrate how register can be used to integrate the semantic, linguistic, and situational features of a given type of text.

Arguing in favor of exclusive use of scientific texts on the basis of their register, Strevens (138) points to recurrent grammatical patterns in technical and technological language and the fact that the vocabulary is generally concrete and practical. Regardless of the type of reading focus, specialization will facilitate reading comprehension simply because the register will be redundant. Moreover, isolating the register allows the instructor to limit the scope of language learning to the syntax and vocabulary that is most pertinent to the particular reading specialty.

Dictionaries

An additional advantage in establishing the range of prediction through the register concept is that it reduces reliance on dictionaries. Beattie (9) suggests that dictionaries are crutches that actually interfere with vocabulary learning if used inappropriately. Words out of context are a frustration to the language learner and should, therefore, be resorted to "only *after* 'intelligent guessing' has failed." The reason dictionaries are harmful, Beattie suggests, "is that learners use them before attempting an intelligent guess and consequently never learn how to guess intelligently" (p 163). He proposes that beginning readers use only monolingual dictionaries. Rather than confronting the student with a translated list of synonyms, monolingual dictionaries demonstrate the contextual use of words and encourage the reader to reason on the basis of recognizable pattern similarities. In addition, such dictionaries enforce an important theoretical consideration, namely that a translation bypass will interfere with reading comprehension in the foreign language.

Sight reading

To encourage predicting and inferencing in any program of extensive or massive reading, we strongly urge classroom training in various kinds of sight reading such as scanning for specific details or skimming for general information. Because they require that students dispense with dictionaries and grammar apparatus, sight passages reinforce the value of inference strategies, particularly when undertaken in terms of a particular register.

Weber (153) measured the effect of training in sight reading on overall foreign language reading ability. A test of sight-reading facility was administered to a group of second-semester students and to two additional groups, one at the third-semester level and another at the fourth-semester level. The group trained in sight reading had indeed made significant strides. Their reading performance did not, in fact, differ significantly from the reading capability of students in the third and fourth semesters.

To corroborate these initial findings, a followup study was conducted. First-semester students receiving production and receptive skill training were also tested so that test scores were available for four levels. In addition, a measure of language production facility was added to the sight-reading test. The second-semester students, the only level trained in sight reading, proved clearly that they comprehended reading material at a level comparabie to that of the third and fourth semester. The gain in both comprehension and production ability between the first and second semesters was very large. Achievement gains between third and fourth semester were not significant. Strikingly, those students who had been in the first study and now comprised the third-semester group demonstrated minimal improvement. This suggests a lack of carry-over from their previous training.

These test results support the growing body of data indicating that grammar-production training may not be the most effective preparation for reading comprehension. The decrease in reading progress after sight training in the second semester suggests that second language instructors must use new strategies to ensure steady student progress in development of reading facility.

In addition to their merit as reading exercises, Eichenlaub (32) values sight passages as evaluation measures, because they can be used to assess global comprehension as well as details in a text. Schulz's (122) suggestions for reading comprehension questions demonstrate the difference between directing for the reading of details ("What words or phrases suggest that a prisoner's life is difficult?") and overall comprehension ("What is implied by the author's statement 'Life was not easy for the prisoner'?"). This type of testing encourages a student to connect initial recognition ability with practice in analyzing or synthesizing the ideas in a text in terms of his or her own conceptual framework.

Individualized instruction

While specific applications go beyond the scope of this chapter, many features of a reading emphasis approach can be incorporated into an individualized instruction program. Features such as silent reading and inference training rely on student initiative and encourage student control of the mode and pace of learning. Indications from the theoretical and research facets of the pyramid puzzle are that a combination of individual and group work will result in a reading program superior to one which relies solely on individual work. The emphasis of the program on receptive or comprehension skills removes some of the pressures associated with initial demands for performance in the language classroom. In addition, group or small-group use of the various materials we have suggested may render them more effective in preliminary reading practice.

Computer use

One individual instructional aid is worthy of brief mention here. The computer industry already has an orange-crate-sized computer with processing memory that will, in a few years, be priced for office and classroom use. The applications for training and correcting in oral and written work are tremendous. A student can type out answers or short essays on a computer terminal and have them edited or corrected immediately.

Atkinson (4), Caldwell (15), and Doublier (28) are among the growing number of investigators who report that computer control is highly effective in teaching reading in the native language. Atkinson (5) used computer programs to identify a variety of individual student performance patterns. College students, using the approach the computer identified as best for them, studied a list of 84 German nouns for recall learning. The computer-strategy group outperformed a section using random learning procedures by 108 percent. Students determining their own learning procedures showed a comparative gain of 53 percent. Computers may soon be available to help students identify optimal individual learning procedures that work best for various foreign language learning tasks. Programs could now be devised, for example, that indicate which of our students learn grammar in stages and which learn on a cumulative basis (Hatch, 55) or to suggest the optimal approach of a particular student to a variety of memory tasks. In the absence of technology to evaluate student progress, Atkinson's results emphasize the merit in having students devise learning procedures for themselves rather than approaching recall tasks without prior organization.

Summary

We promised at the outset of this chapter to piece together the essential components of a new reading and to identify key features of effective training to read based on current theory and the research that seems to substantiate that theory in both native language and foreign language investigations. Our aim has been to delineate features which could augment a variety of methods and a range of program objectives.

Features of a new FL reading

1 The new reading should be taught as a special skill whose ultimate objective is reading fluency.
2 Early and extensive training is necessary if foreign language students are going to achieve reading fluency.
3 Grammar training will be more effective in contributing

toward ultimate reading fluency if it is taught as a component of meaning, integral to reading comprehension.

4 The foreign language teacher dealing with students in their teens or older should approach the teaching of reading by using strategies that capitalize on their cognitive structure and native language reading skills such as awareness of intonation, phonetic coding, syntactic sophistication, and established patterns of eye fixation.

5 Teaching receptive and productive skills should be distinguished to prevent the learning interference that apparently occurs when recall and recognition tasks are undertaken concomitantly.

6 The indicated learning sequence for adolescent and adult learners is receptive skills prior to language production.

7 Specific procedures for preliminary training in reading are recommended to aid students in the transition from initial, nondiscriminatory processing of microdetails to comprehension based on a limited number of clues selected from macro-elements in phrases and sentences.

8 Foreign language students should be trained in skills that produce reading fluency in native speakers: prediction, inference, speed reading skills, differentiation between a variety of reading objectives such as searching for details and skimming for the gist of the material.

9 Students should be trained to differentiate between recall and recognition learning and to develop their own strategies in approaching a reading task.

10 Readability criteria should include factors in addition to new word density and syntactic complexity. Students should be aware of the criteria and should be permitted to make their own appropriate text selection at some point in their foreign language training.

11 Production skills can be introduced into a reading emphasis program through concomitant use of intensive and extensive reading tasks.

12 Sight reading passages should be used extensively in class as an aid in training for reading fluency and as an evaluative measure for assessing that training.

13 After students have demonstrated the ability to read for meaning, large quantities of reading can be introduced.

14 If reading specialization is desirable, the range of grammar and vocabulary memorization can be considerably reduced since the instruction can be limited to the register of that particular type of reading.

These suggestions are an attempt to identify new options in foreign language learning. For too long we have been a profession embroiled in conflicts about specific methodologies. In retrospect, attempting to center teaching practice on one "best" methodology has not resulted in the kind of significant learning gains that were, at one time, anticipated. One need only read a comprehensive summary such as Oskarsson's "Comparative Method Studies in Foreign Language Teaching" (95) to conclude that an audiolingual or cognitive-code method, in and of itself, does not yield notable results. Discrepant practices between initial and later training, teaching recognition and recall skills concomitantly, or assuming that reading fluency will develop automatically at some point in the student's formal coursework will, evidently, sabotage the initial benefits of any methodology. Consistent policies and their practical application in the classroom can, we believe, alter this situation. Rather than a particular method, the foreign language student must be the foundation for our policies before classroom practice can be free to respond to indications about the mode of learning, the kind of task, and the sequence of tasks that results in superior language acquisition. A reading emphasis program based on sound learning theory and effective teaching strategies can free itself from methodological dogmatism and allow teachers to devote their energies to student-based, flexible, and innovative classroom practice.

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Learner systems and error analysis

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Introduction

In the last decade the views of psychologists and linguists on language acquisition have undergone profound—indeed, revolutionary—changes. Attention has been shifted from the data provided as input to the learner to the nature of psychological structures and processes that determine how the learner will perceive and interpret these data. A fundamental step in language learning is the formulation by the learner of hypotheses about input data. These hypotheses are revealed by the errors he makes. Underlying second language learning are cognitive processes that seem similar to those that determine the acquisition of the first language by the child and that characterize various types of "simplified" or "reduced" speech forms such as pidgin languages. Errors are not to be viewed as pathological manifestations to be eradicated, but constitute instead the most direct evidence of the learner's hypotheses and strategies. A better understanding of the significance of errors in second language learning should lead to more realistic principles for the selection and ordering of grammatical features by materials developers and teachers. If learners are to be given the opportunity to use language for communicative purposes in early stages of instruction, the teacher must refrain from indiscriminate correction. The effect of errors on the communication of messages and the

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degree of tolerance accorded to those errors by native speakers must be considered.

Error analysis and models of language acquisition

The models of second language learning that have dominated the field of language teaching for the past three decades assigned a high priority to avoidance and eradication of errors. Because imitation was believed to be a central aspect of learning, an insistence on absolute replication of the model was developed. Contrastive analysis and Skinnerian linear programming influenced greatly the development of teaching materials adhering to the "linguistic" or "structural" approach. It was claimed that the detailed comparison of the student's native language and the target language permitted the prediction of potential errors, which could then be prevented by the preparation of suitable materials and the use of appropriate teaching techniques. Materials based on Skinnerian linear programming presented the subject matter in minute steps such that the learner would progress from one to the other while making a minimum number of errors. More importantly, he could not progress from one learning step to the other without having met criterion behavior, generally defined as 90 percent accuracy (Valdman, 82). Any error produced was to be negatively reinforced (punished) immediately. The most glaring shortcoming of the application of programmed instruction to foreign language learning was the impossibility of designing a self-instructional system that provided such immediate reinforcement. Lane and Buiten (51) did devise a system with which students could monitor their imitation of stress and pitch within short utterances, but that system was experimental and was not extended to a normal teaching situation.

Avoidance of errors

This obsession with error-free learner performance had two sets of consequences. In the design of language courses and the establishment of objectives, it led to excessive emphasis on accuracy of pronunciation and the delayed presentation of syntax and vocabulary. While the acquisition of the phonological system of the target language must be assigned high priority, near-native control of nondistinctive features does not play a large role in the development of listening comprehension or in the

Undesirable consequences

attainment of a minimal level of speaking ability. More damaging, however, was the sense of tedium and the low level of student interest that this obsessive error correction brought to audiolingually oriented language instruction. Foreign language courses devised on strict Skinnerian principles proved to be extremely aversive and caused an inordinately high student dropout rate. As Grittner (36) aptly put it, "The student's appetite for knowledge is seldom strong enough to be piqued by a sustained intellectual diet consisting only of the confirmation of an answer which is 95 percent sure to be right" (p. 196).

Programs of language instruction based on behavioral models viewed the learner as essentially passive. As pictured in Figure 1, input data from the target language were organized by materials developers and teachers so that hypotheses they formulated about the structure of the target language were presented in optimal fashion to the learner. Recent research in first language acquisition (McNeill, 54; Slobin, 77) suggests that every normal child constructs for himself the grammar of his native language. Although differences may exist between the acquisition of his first language by a child and the learning of a second language by an adult (Cook, 13; Dulay and Burt, 21, 22, 24), evidence suggests that the second language learner participates actively in the learning process. Whether we agree with Chomsky (9) or McNeill (54), in claiming the existence of a language-specific faculty (LAD: Language Acquisition Device), or with Piaget (61) and Slobin (78), in accounting for language development via more general cognitive structures, we must assign the second language learner's Language Learning and

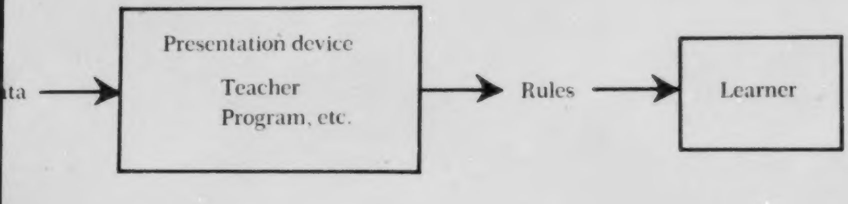

Figure 1. Behavioral (structural) model of second language learning

Active participation of the learner

Acquisition Device (LLAD) an important mediating function between the input data and the rules that characterize these data (see Figure 2).

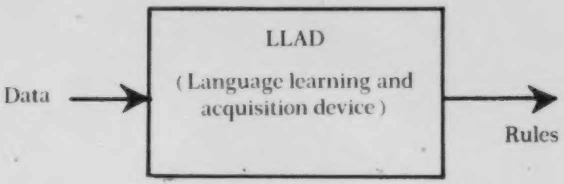

Figure 2. Cognitive model of second language learning

Cognitive model

Recognizing the centrality of the role of the learner's psychological structures has many implications for language instruction. 1) It relegates to a secondary role such activities as imitation and repetition (mim-mem). No material can be "learned" unless it is presented in a form compatible with an individual learner's intermediate grammar and until he has made some hypothesis about its relation to other elements of the target language. 2) It follows from the central role of the individual learner in the acquisition process that the optimal program must be individualized. 3) The classroom teacher's participation in the learning process is more specifically defined (and restricted) to the verification of the various hypotheses formulated by individual learners and to the organization of activities conducive to the appropriate testing of these hypotheses (see Figure 3). 4) Errors are no longer pathological manifestations that can and should be eradicated. Indeed, they become an important source for the determination of what hypotheses are being formulated by the learner: "Errors are evidence about the nature of the process and of the rules and categories used by the learner at a certain stage in the course" (Corder 14, p. 167). In other words, errors serve as data for the characterization of individual *learners'* intermediate *systems*.

Approximative systems

For a long time errors produced by second language learners

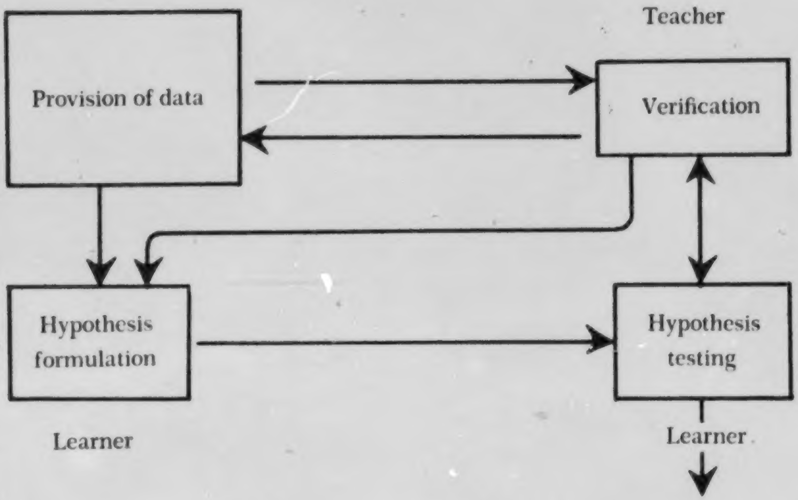

Figure 3. Algorithm for the acquisition of second language in the classroom

were thought to be the result of interference from their native tongue (Lado, 50). The function of contrastive analysis was to reveal these differences so that appropriate preventive measures could be taken by materials developers and teachers. It was assumed that learners produced target language utterances containing intrusive isolated features of their native language. This notion was in contradiction to the basic tenets of structural linguistics, from which contrastive analysis had sprung. In fact Weinreich (89), who had been among the first linguists to introduce the term *interference*, explicitly pointed out that "interference implies the arrangement of patterns" (p. 14) and that any addition or subtraction to a linguistic system entails a reorganization. Following Weinreich's suggestion, Nemser (55) and Nemser and Slama-Cazacu (56) developed the concept of *approximative systems* to underscore the systematic and autonomous nature of the learner's version of the target language. As is the case for first language acquisition, learning a second language proceeds by a series of approximative reorganizations. Learner approximative systems are characterized by at least three features: their integrity and autonomy as linguistic systems, their variability, and their individual or idiosyncratic nature.

Second language learning as systematic reorganization

Learner approximative systems

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While learner approximative systems may contain features derived undeniably from the learner's native language, they show numerous and frequent features that cannot be attributed to either the native or the target language. Consider the deviant sentence "I no like this" ("I don't like this") produced by a young French learner of English. The placement of *no* before the verb most likely cannot be attributed to interference since in the vernacular speech of French children the negative is expressed by *pas* postposed to the verb group. Learner approximative system features are not sporadic; at given stages of the development of competence in the target language, the appearance of certain features is not random. The learner's output must be assumed to be determined by rules that are different from those of either of the two languages, thereby forming an independent system. For example, at a given stage of his learning of English the French child cited above will produce negative sentences containing *no* preceding the verb, regardless of what models are presented to him.

Variability of learner systems

Another important feature of learner systems is their variability. Language learners constantly modify their hypotheses about the target language. At any given time several hypotheses may be in conflict, and the learner's approximation of the target language will show alternative renditions of individual features. Consider again the case of the French learner of English who has generalized *no* as the negative marker and who will therefore produce such deviant utterances as "I no like him" ("I don't like him"). After he has heard a large number of negativized verbs (for example, he does not run), he might begin to shift from *no* to *not*. During a certain period of time, he will fluctuate between "I no like him" and "I not like him." Thus, the first and the second language never come into immediate total contact. Instead, learning is gradual and involves contact between limited aspects of the two languages. Also, language learning is not a static but a dynamic dialectical process: Prior learning influences subsequent learning. A learner of French will begin by generalizing the use of partitive articles with all mass nouns. This will result in correct as well as deviant utterances. (*J'ai du vin; je n'ai pas du vin.*) After he has learned that the simple preposition *de* is used in negative sentences, he will generalize this rule to similar constructions where partitive articles must be used: _"ce n'est pas de vin"_ (_"ce n'est pas du vin"_). Learning proceeds by gradual integration of disparate elements and by the continuous development of new systems. For that reason, learner systems are not homogeneous.

Idiosyncratic nature of learner systems

Finally, learner systems are idiosyncratic (Corder, 16). An individual's learner system will be determined by a variety of factors, including learning experiences (for example, other languages studied) and psychological characteristics, both cognitive and attitudinal. Central to the notion of idiosyncratic dialect is the assumption that every sentence produced by learners is potentially deviant. That is, even when it appears well formed on the surface, it may be generated by a set of rules that differs from a corresponding set in the target language.

The characteristics of learner systems are illustrated by idiosyncratic sentences collected by Ervin-Tripp (28) from English speaking children learning French in a free-learning environment in Geneva. The data were elicited by the translation of English equivalent sentences; asterisks indicate various types of deviations and question marks note sentences considered sociolinguistically stigmatized by most adult speakers of French but occurring frequently in the speech of children. With few exceptions the questions displayed in Table 1 are characterized by the appearance of the question word at the beginning of the sentence and the preservation of the normal-order subject + verb found in declarative sentences. There are no permutations

Example of a learner system feature

TABLE 1. A learner version of French interrogatives

Subject 1 (5 years old, 5 years' residence, E only at home)	Subject 2 (5½ years old, 9 months' residence, E, F at home)	Subject 3 (7 years old, 9 months' residence, E, F at home)
1. Why does she eat them? *_Pourquoi elle mange le?_	?_Pourquoi il mange ça?_	?_Pourquoi elle les mange?_
2. Who is she waiting for? *_Où est-elle attend pour?_	*_Qui elle attend pour?_	*_Elle attend pour qui?_
3. What pushes the door? *_Quoi poussait la porte?_	*_Quoi il poussait la porte?_	*_Qu'est-ce qui a poussé la porte?_
4. What fell down? *_Quoi-t-il a tombé?_	*_Quoi il a tombé?_	*_Qu'est-ce qui a tombé?_
5. Why is he pushing her? *_Pourquoi il pousse elle?_	*_Pourquoi il pousse elle?_	*_Pourquoi il elle pousse?_
6. Where is he going? *_Où est-ce il va?_	*_Où lui va?_	?_Où il s'en va?_ ?_Il s'en va où?_
7. Where is the dog going? *_Où est le chien, il va?_	?_Où le chien, il va?_	_Où va le chien?_

involving question words, except for *Il s'en va où?* In addition, the questions do not involve the inversion of subject and verb; subject 1 does produce some apparently inverted pronouns (*Où est-elle attend pour? Quoi-t-il a tombé? Où est-ce il va?*), but these seem to constitute part of the question word, because the subject pronoun follows them. The rule requiring the placement of the question word in initial position without inversion of subject and verb does not originate in English. Undoubtedly these children heard questions constructed on this pattern in the French to which they were exposed, for they occur with relatively high frequency in the speech of children and in adult colloquial usage (Chevalier, 8; Valdman, 83). But they were also exposed to a variety of other interrogative structures (for example, *Pourquoi est-ce qu'il mange ça? Pourquoi mange-t-il ça? Il mange ça pourquoi?*) Why did they choose this particular pattern? As Valdman shows, it is probably because it constitutes the simplest means to express questions at this stage of their acquisition of French. The children's "errors" in the use of pronouns also supports our contention that they have developed an autonomous learner system that cannot be accounted for completely in terms of interference from their native language or faulty imitation of target language utterances. The two youngest children show that their individual learner systems do not contain a rule shifting object pronouns to a position before the verb, and all three have not yet developed specialized forms for third-person pronouns. On the basis of data such as those displayed in Table 1 we argue that learner systems are independent from the native and the target languages and must be described in their own terms.

Learner systems and pidgins

Nemser and Slama-Cazacu (56) extend the notion of approximative system to various types of so-called reduced or simplified types of speech—for example, immigrant language and pidgins. Under appropriate social circumstances, learner approximative systems may become stabilized into *pidgins* (Hall, 38; Hymes, 44; Todd, 80). Pidginization occurs in situations where the target language is used for limited functions and where learners do not have access to target-speaker models, as

Pidgin defined

is the case in the transient contacts occasioned by trading. The best known pidgins (Chinese Pidgin English, Melanesian Pidgin English or Tok Pisin, and African Pidgin English) have developed from contacts not between speakers of a target language and learners sharing the same native tongue, but from attempts by speakers of a variety of second languages to communicate through the medium of a given target language (Whinnom, 90). Few pidgins develop from the process of pidginization. Instead, learner systems that are stabilized at a very low level of approximation to the target language result; these disappear when the conditions that led to their development are removed. Such utility systems or prepidgins are evanescent in nature. Pidgins may become the primary languages of social communities; they are acquired by children as native languages and undergo a process of elaboration that makes them indistinguishable from natural languages with respect to the functions they assume and their structural characteristics. This process is termed *creolization* (Bickerton, 3; Hall, 38; Hymes, 44; Todd, 80) and has yielded such widely spoken creoles as Haitian Creole and Sranan Tongo.

Creolization

Pidgins are important for the study of learner systems and for second language learning theory in that they reveal more clearly basic features of restructuring and reorganization than does the speech of various types of second language learners. In addition to convergence of linguistic systems (interference) and the reduction of the functions and domains of use of language, pidginization involves the simplification of surface structure with respect to the target language. The reduction of the functions they assume is accompanied by the limited referential scope of pidgins. (This does not necessarily imply that the cognitive base of pidgins is impoverished.)

Simplification of surface structure

Four aspects of the simplification of surface structure evidenced by pidgins merit discussion:

1 Restructuring of the shape of words
2 Replacement of inflectional endings by free forms (shift toward analysis) and the replacement of complex lexemes by groups of free forms
3 Reduction of redundant agreement and concord features
4 The use of invariant forms of words

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Changes in the shape of words

In pidgins, words typically have the structure CVCV(C), where *C* stands for any consonant and *V* for any vowel. Words of the target language that do not have this shape are restructured by various processes—insertion of vowels before or within a word, adjunction of consonants before words. For example, in African Pidgin English the consonant clusters of *small, stick,* or *snake* are eliminated by the insertion of a vowel: *simol, sitik, sinek.* Final clusters are also reduced: *table* is reinterpreted as *tabu.* Reduced varieties of French and Creole French show the incorporation of liaison consonants in words beginning with a vowel: *un homme/nòm* (man), *les amis/zanmi* (friend), *les oiseaux/zozo* (bird).

Replacement of inflections by free forms

Grammatical categories are expressed by free forms. For instance, in Papiamentu (a creole derived from Portuguese or Spanish) tense-aspect and person reference are expressed by particles and pronouns occurring before the verb: Equivalent to Spanish *canto* is *mi ta canto* (I am singing); equivalent to *cantaría* is *lo mi a canto* (I would sing). Complex lexemes are decomposed in their constituent semantic components. In African Pidgin English the interrogative pronouns and adverbs are replaced by a sequence consisting of an interrogative marker and a content word: *huskayn* (kind) "what," *husay* (side) "where," *hustaym* (time) "when." Similarly in Haitian Creole French: *ki moun* (person) "who," *ki lè* (hour) "when," *ki koté* (place) "where." Words occur in a single form, and stem alternations and such processes as elisions and linking consonants are absent. In Creole French third-person pronouns occur in a single nondifferentiated form: *mouin ouè li* (I see him/her). Redundant features such as the use of plural forms with numerals, gender classes, and subject-verb concord have been eliminated. In African Pidgin English verbs occur in a single form: *i de chop* (he's eating), *yu de chop* (you eat), *dem de chop* (they eat).

Significance of pidgins for FL teachers

Pidgin and creole languages may seem to be rather exotic phenomena that have little relevance to foreign language teachers' daily concerns. Yet, these languages show more clearly than the type of speech produced by second language learners, including those who are acquiring a language under natural conditions, the effect of deep-seated processes upon which we rely when we need to use a second language for communicative purposes. Certain features of pidgins may serve as a basis for the elaboration of more efficient teaching sequences and the preparation of materials that facilitate the learner's access to the second language.

Underlying processes of language learning

For Hymes (44, p. 73) the features characteristic of pidgins facilitate the encoding and decoding process:

> Invariance in form, rather than allomorphic variation; an invariant relation between form and grammatical function rather than derivational and inflectional declensional and conjugational variation; largely monomorphemic rather than inflected and derived words; reliance on overt word order; all have in common that they minimize the knowledge a hearer need have, and the speed with which he must decide, to know what in fact has grammatically happened. They minimize the knowledge the speaker need have, and his task in encoding, to say something within the rules of the code being used. Such simplification minimizes the role of the sector of language an outsider is most likely to encounter, and to find easiest to acquire, namely items of lexicon. In this respect, the heart of pidginization is a focus on words and their order in situational context. Given the circumstances of use, the purpose is to make what means of communication are shared or sharable as accessible as possible.

But these features also mark child language and learner systems, and this convergence invites a search for deeper underlying principles of language acquisition.

Psychological structures of language learning

First language acquisition and second language learning (including pidginization) are assigned different psychological structures (McNeill, 54; Reibel, 68; Selinker, 75). Selinker provides for two types of second language learning: 1) A small number of learners (the figure of 5 percent is advanced) who attain native proficiency revert to the Latent Language Structure that determined the acquisition of their first language; 2) the majority of second language learners are guided by a different set of psychological processes (the Latent Psychologi-

Latent Psychological Structure

cal Structure). This differs from the Latent Language Structure in four important respects: it is not maturational and does not appear according to a fixed biological schedule; it has no counterpart in universal grammar; it is not necessarily realized in successful second language learning; it does not constitute a separate intellectual faculty but overlaps with other cognitive processes. The Latent Psychological Structure guides the learner in the elaboration of an *interlanguage* for which Selinker, like Nemser and Corder, posits an existence independent of the target language. Interlanguage is produced by five psychological processes making up the Latent Psychological Structure: overgeneralization; transfer-of-training; strategies of learning; strategies of communication; interference.

Interlanguage

Overgeneralization refers to the extension of rules to broader environments and the removal of constraints on the application of rules, such as the generalization of the regular past tense ending to all verbs ("I goed, I runned"). *Transfer-of-training* has its source in pedagogical practices. For instance, many learners of English whose native language distinguishes a feminine and a masculine third-person pronoun will nonetheless use *he* for *she* because the latter is excluded from drills. *Strategies of learning* refer to attempts, usually *subsconscious,* to reduce the learning burden by extending the use of forms beyond their normal domain, such as the generalized use in the learning of Spanish of the periphrastic construction *ir* plus the infinitive instead of inflected future forms to express futurity. *Strategies of communication* result from the learner's attempt to cope with communicative demands that outstrip his linguistic proficiency. Learners of English, for instance, might generalize the use of the present tense forms to express progressive aspect ("Now I wash the floor" for "I am washing").

Overgeneralization

Transfer of training

Strategies of learning

Strategies of communication

Another important aspect of Selinker's notion of interlanguage is *fossilization* and *backsliding.* Second language learners revert to certain features of the interlanguage regardless of the amount of training they have been given and after they have seemingly eliminated these features. Backsliding occurs typically under conditions of extreme stress or relaxation. There are several problems with Selinker's approach to learner systems. The five psychological processes posited are vague and appear

Fossilization

to be complexes of processes, some of them caused by social factors. It is often difficult to assign a particular feature of the learner system to a specific process.

Another direction in the search for underlying principles of second language learning involves reference to universals common to all types of language learning, including first language acquisition. Traugott (81) suggests that when we learn a second language we revert to natural strategies for the perception and expression of universal linguistic categories that determined the way we learned our first language. The perceptual strategies refer to certain constraints on learnability of linguistic features such as those proposed by Slobin (78). These include, for example, paying attention to the final portion of words, the use of a single type of word order (subject-verb-object or subject-object-verb), or the avoidance of permutations of sentence elements. Underlying the notion of natural expressive strategies is the belief that features of phonology and grammar are inborn. Learning a language involves the imposition of particular constraints on these universal natural features. One such feature is the tendency to give expression to such grammatical elements as aspect, tense, and mood by means of free forms–prepositions or particles–rather than endings. Since children have not yet acquired constraints that change natural features–that would replace free forms by endings–their speech appears to have been simplified in comparison to adult language. In this view the apparent simplicity of pidgins and learner systems stems from the reversion to natural expressive strategies on the part of learners. In addition to accounting for all types of language learning in terms of a single set of psychological processes and cognitive capabilities, this second viewpoint has the advantage of explaining the universal ability of human beings to simplify language under socially determined conditions–for example, baby talk or stereotypic styles of speech such as so-called "foreigner talk" (Ferguson, 29, 30). Finally, another implication of this viewpoint is that, if all types of language learning are founded in the same cognitive structures and processes, we must look primarily to social factors to account for the differences among the various types.

Collection and observation of errors

Sources of data

We must examine the sources of evidence for the assumption that second language learning proceeds by the formulation of hypotheses that lead to the development of learner systems. One important source of evidence that has not been tapped consists of the extensive data available on pidgin and creole languages (Hall, 38; Hymes, 44; Todd, 80) and scantier descriptions of immigrant language (Clyne, 10; Haugen, 42). Another neglected area is the observation of so-called simplified varieties of fully formed adult speech—baby talk, foreigner speech (Ferguson, 29, 30). In this section we review the type of data most easily accessible to language teachers, namely, the various types of deviant material (errors) found in learners' attempts to use the target language.

The first step in the analysis of errors is to devise suitable procedures that will make a wide variety of learner errors available in sufficient quantity. Because errors reflect learner hypotheses, this section might appropriately be labeled "obtaining data for the inference of learner hypotheses and learner systems." In fact, failure to see that actual errors are outward manifestations of deeper processes has reduced the utility of most studies that aimed at the collection and observation of errors.

Early studies

Most good foreign language teachers make some attempt to note learner errors and incorporate their findings in the planning of remedial activities and teaching materials. Published systematic collections of errors are, however, scant. Late 19th-century French textbooks addressed to English learners do contain lists of *faux-amis*, cognate words whose semantic range differs widely in the two languages. In 1929 H. Frei brought out *La Grammaire des fautes* (31), which contained deviations from Standard French made by lower-class speakers. But Frei's objectives were not pedagogical; he wanted to point out that these so-called errors were the manifestations of deep-seated processes that, if left free to develop, would produce greater clarity, economy, and expressivity than would the structure of the standard written variety of the language.

Studies aimed at the collection of data from which one might infer learner hypotheses and from which one might attempt to construct learner intermediate grammars may be grouped into four classes: cross-sectional random corpora; longitudinal studies; narrowly focused tests; direct elicitation.

Types of studies

Cross-sectional studies

One of the more extensive studies involving the observation of errors from a cross-sectional corpus was conducted in the late 1960s in the Popular Republic of the Congo (Congo-Brazzaville) by a team of linguists from the BELC (Bureau pour l'Enseignement de la Langue et de la Civilisation Françaises à l' Etranger) (Debyser et al., 20). Compositions and dictations were collected from about 2,000 seventh grade learners of French. The classification and the analysis of the errors collected in this study were not particularly revealing because the errors were couched in terms of surface-structure categories; however, the study had the merit of setting forth rigorous and systematic procedures for the transcription, classification, and analysis of a large set of errors. A suitable statistical treatment was devised and the data were coded for mechanical processing, including computer treatment. Bouton (4) gathered a similar corpus from learners of French of varied linguistic backgrounds at the Alliance Française course in Paris. Dušková (26) also collected a corpus of errors in English from a group of 50 Czech graduate students in various scientific disciplines. These three studies exemplify the strengths and weaknesses of the collection of errors observed in random, wide-ranging corpora. They enable the gatherer or other analysts to ask a variety of empirical and theoretical questions about the data, but they make it difficult to answer interesting questions about the development of specific features and of learner systems in general. They are also based exclusively on written responses and introduce a serious complicating factor in the case of target languages, such as English or French, whose spelling does not directly reflect features of the spoken language. Cross-sectional corpora gathered in recent years have shifted attention to the spoken language. Powell (63) recorded interviews with 233 high school students of French in which she posed as a French speaker with no knowledge of English. Although the subjects were requested to ask a restricted set of questions, the language sample may be assumed to represent their ability to communicate with target language speakers. Similar corpora have been collected by

Studies based on written texts

Dumas et al. (25) from young Anglo-Canadians learning French in an immersion program and by Gilbert and Orlović (34) from migrant workers in Germany representing six different native languages. In the case of the last two studies, the interviews were longer–ranging between 15 and 20 minutes–and less constrained. Finally, Burt and Kiparsky (5) have prepared a pedagogically oriented classification of errors collected randomly from the written and spoken performance of learners of English.

Studies based on speech sample

At best, errors from cross-sectional random corpora can be used as evidence for the reconstruction of periodic stages in the development of learner systems. But they are of little utility in attempting to establish developmental patterns and the learning processes that underlie them. Indeed, cross-sectional studies of the type reported here have been devised primarily to answer such questions as: Are errors attributable to the effect of the native language (interference) or to intralinguistic relationships in the target language? What is the relative proportion of deviant versus accurate responses? Where a variety of deviant responses are produced, what is the relative frequency of deviant alternations?

Longitudinal studies

Observations on the development of learner systems, as well as differences and similarities between the acquisition of first language and various types of second language learning, require longitudinal studies. These have been numerous: Among early precursors, we find the observations of the development of bilingual children by Leopold (52) and Ronjat (72). Generally, the investigator gathers data on the acquisition of a second language by his own children (Dato, 19; Isman, 46; Ravem, 67). An attempt has been made in a large number of M.A. theses at UCLA (reported by Hatch, 41) to chart the development of linguistic proficiency of individual children over a limited period, as have studies in the Harvard Department of Education (Cancino et al., 7; Hakuta, 37). Adults have been selected in a few cases (Hanania, 39; Shapiro, 76). By and large, in these studies the analyst has limited his attention to the development of selected linguistic features, more often than not declarative, imperative, and negative sentences (Isman, 46; Ravem, 67). The selection of a narrow range of features for observation often

Acquisition of a second languag by children results in a filtering of the data so that another investigator cannot use it to answer different questions. For instance, Isman, in a study of the acquisition of English by his three children over an 18-month period, starts with the hypothesis that syntactic development involves the addition of base and transformational rules. His data cannot easily be used for a study centering, for example, on the notion of restructuring. Dulay and Burt (22) have examined the acquisition of English in relatively large groups of children within the context of bilingual education programs for Spanish speakers. To demonstrate that the order of acquisition of functors was not a function of the native language, they extended the study to Chinese children (Dulay and Burt, 23).

Longitudinal studies are difficult in formal instructional programs. Students entering a language course may have been previously exposed to the second language and may not constitute a homogeneous group. Moreover, the attrition rate is very high: Fewer than 25 percent of entering students may be expected to continue beyond one year in some college-level institutions. Therefore, longitudinal studies must focus on a narrow aspect of language learning. For instance, Walz (88) has studied the acquisition of pronunciation on the part of first-semester students of French not previously exposed to the language.

Narrowly focused studies

Cross-sectional sampling

Another approach is to select some sort of cross-sectional sample. Gee and Burden (32), for example, compared essays written by three groups of 12 students at three successive year-levels of college French. In most current longitudinal studies involving a small number of learners, the investigator has recorded and transcribed periodic samples of the learner's repertoire and has made careful note of the semantic intent of recorded utterances (Hanania, 39).

Narrowly focused tests

To answer precise questions about learner hypotheses and the development of competence in the target language, errors must be collected over a narrow range of predetermined structural features. To be more easily classifiable and interpretable the data must be homogeneous and highly concentrated. For example, to assign reliably any observed errors to interference or to more general and universal processes, Richards (69) asked a native speaker of Czech and one of French to restate a short English paragraph in their own words without reference to the printed text. While this did not guarantee that the subjects used the same lexicon and grammatical structures, it did limit the range of variation of the output. Olsson (58) investigated 240 Swedish teen-agers' control of the English passive by administering a visually cued oral test. Subjects were required to restate sentences containing blanks by providing the appropriate forms of the auxiliaries and main verbs. The 2,000 responses collected, half of which were deviant in some way, were subsequently presented to native speakers of English to determine whether syntactic or semantic errors interfered most with interpretability. Valdman (84, 87) has studied the choice among variant French interrogative structures by American learners and the frequency and types of errors for each of the variant constructions. Subjects were required to formulate questions in response to visual cues or sets of statements. Py (64, 65) conducted research in the same area of French syntax with students from a variety of linguistic backgrounds enrolled in formal courses in a French-speaking Swiss canton (Neuchâtel). To elicit the data Py required his subjects to perform a variety of tasks: multiple-choice tests, construction of sentences from isolated elements, transformations from declarative to interrogative, and partial completion of dialogues.

Methodological shortcomings

Commenting on the manner in which linguists gather data, the sociologist Allen Grimshaw (35) chides them for their failure to devise more rigorous procedures: "The notion of controlled research; of holding variables constant and of manipulating variables systematically to determine why something happens in one case but not in another . . . has not yet been adopted by a substantial number of linguists" (p. 440). The same criticism could be levelled at the way evidence has been collected from random or systematic cross-sectional samples or from longitudinal studies; observed errors constitute only what Kellerman (49) terms *experiential* insights. These include, in addition to direct observation of learner behavior, the analyst's experience as a learner of a second language or the particular second language under study, the formalized experience of other observers (including teachers), and contrastive analysis. From the inspection of corpora of errors and from experiential insights it cannot be determined, *inter alia*:

1 Whether a given error is to be assigned to competence or performance
2 Whether it is characteristic of a certain type of learner
3 Whether it is contingent upon the particular context in which it was noted
4 What other deviant or accurate alternatives were available to the learner at a given point
5 The persistence of the error, or rather, of the learner hypothesis underlying the error.

Direct elicitation

What is required to get closer to learner hypotheses is lateralization (Kellerman, 49). Lateralization is the examination of the state of the learner system at a given point to gain more insight about the deviant or correct form observed in the text produced by the learner. Correct forms must also be examined because they may be right by accident (Corder, 15)—that is to say that the analyst must elicit information from the learner very much as a linguist does from an informant. Corder (18) has pointed out that workers in the field of second language acquisition are privileged with respect to colleagues working in first language acquisition: The adolescent or adult learner is equipped with a metalanguage not available to the child and can verbalize what he construes to be his hypotheses about a given point in the structure of the target language. As Kellerman (49) has shown, learners may indicate where they have experienced difficulty in the utterances they have produced. For example, confronted with the deviant sentence "Arrived in Dover, the first thing what I had to get used to was left-handed driving," a German learner did not note the two deviant features: the use of *what* for *that* and the deletion of the identical subject pronoun in the dependent clause ("When I arrived in Dover"). The only point of difficulty he perceived was the use of *had* and the past participle in the verb of the main clause.

Elicitation from second language learners may take a variety of forms. Learners might be asked to produce transformations of certain types of sentences or to effect various types of replace-ments within paradigms or within sentences. Another approach would consist of asking them to paraphrase or even to translate utterances. To reconstruct learner systems the investigator must work out rules of possible intermediate grammars which are then submitted to the learner for testing. An intermediate grammar is considered adequate if it accounts for deviant forms produced consistently by the learner. Asking learners to comment on deviant forms they produce or on points of difficulty presents the risk of *post hoc* rationalizations, but as Kellerman points out, it is a risk well worth taking: "There is no reason why a learner cannot be asked to give an explanation as to why he arrives at a certain form, and it is often interesting to see whether the analysis arrived at by the researcher matches the explanation offered by the learner" (p. 171).

Classification and analysis of errors

Types of classification

The type of classification and analysis that is applied to errors depends upon the objectives of the particular study. Error analysis may be used for immediate remedial purposes. A taxonomical approach would be highly suited to studies whose primary objectives are immediate remediation, whereas deeper-level analysis would be preferable if the objective is the preparation of materials or gaining insights into the processes of language learning.

Standard for determining deviation

Two preliminary issues must be considered before reviewing various approaches to the classification and analysis of errors. The first is the standard for the determination of deviation. Most foreign language teachers use formal styles of the standard dialect of the target language, which results in identifying as deviant many learner utterances that conform to the norms of other varieties of the second language. For example, Ervin-Tripp's (28) subjects produced Wh-questions of the type *Pourquoi il les pousse?* which, while violating rules of formal standard French, represent the construction employed most frequently by children and by adults in colloquial speech. If these latter varieties are adopted as the basis of reference, most of the subjects' Wh-questions are redefined as "correct." In the area of pronunciation teachers may accept a local norm, such as Indian or Nigerian English. The insistence on adherence to narrowly defined norms, such as Received Pronunciation for British English or upper-middle-class Parisian speech for French, obviously results in a higher proportion of inaccurate and deviant learner speech. It also has the undesirable consequence of labelling as "inaccurate" or "deviant" speech that would be produced by some native speakers. As Corder (15) suggests, learner speech might instead be judged with reference to learner system norms. Speech might be accepted that deviates from target language norms but which conforms to a certain developmental stage.

Receptive and productive errors

The second problem is that of the determination of receptive (as opposed to productive) errors. These can be identified only by reference to native language equivalents or by the ability of the learner to execute orders and follow instructions (Cohen, 12). But even when these errors are identified, it is difficult to see how they may be submitted to analysis.

Criteria for the classification of errors

Four criteria are generally used in the classification and analysis of errors:

1 Level of linguistic structure affected
2 Competence or performance
3 Underlying cause
4 Effect on communication (James, 47)

Structural features

The classification of errors in terms of structural features represents the most widespread analytic approach currently in use. The classification usually corresponds to the organizational basis of materials and of traditional grammar (Bouton, 4; Debyser et al., 20). A particular shortcoming of this approach is its failure to evaluate the relative severity of the error with respect to the communication of semantic intentions and to relate it to the development of a learner system. For instance, consider the following deviant sentences:

1 "I saw two boy in the park." ("I saw two boys in the park.")
2 "I saw boy in the park." ("I saw the boys in the park.")
3 "I saw boy in the park." ("I saw the boy in the park.")

The first and second sentences share the absence of plural mark-ing, yet the deviance is superficial in the first sentence because the number marks plurality. In Sentence 2, the deviance results in confusion between singular and plural. Sentences 2 and 3 share the same deep-level deviance: failure to mark the distinction between definiteness and indefiniteness by the choice between zero and *the* in the second sentence and between *a* and *the* in the third. An analysis in terms of semantico-syntactic categories, such as definiteness for nouns or tense-aspect for verbs, would be more useful for pedagogical purposes. Burt and Kiparsky (6) have proposed a distinction between *global* errors whose domain is the complex sentence and *local* errors which occur in simple clauses. For example, in

Global versus local errors

4 "Since the harvest was good, was rain a lot last year."
("Since it rained a lot last year, the harvest was good.")

the incorrect placement of *since* constitutes a global error, whereas the use of the perfect form (with the wrong form of the verb) instead of the past is a local error. This sort of distinction is readily translatable into a hierarchy of errors for remedial practice. Analyses of errors inspired by generative-transformational grammar refer to violations of phrase-structure and transformational rules and of constraints on these rules. For example,

5 "Is snowing there?"
6 "You going outside?"
7 "What you say?"

all show failure to apply subject and verb inversion, though Sentence 5 is also elliptical, and Sentences 6 and 7 reflect the absence of a phrase-structure rule defining the structure of auxiliaries. The deviant sentence

8 "He makes me to do it."

reflects the failure to apply a constraint on verb complement formation specifying that *to make* does not take the complementizer *to*. The generative-transformational model lends itself particularly well to the notion of overgeneralization (Richards, 70).

Competence versus performance

The application of the Chomskyan distinction between competence and performance to the analysis of errors does not seem useful. Performance errors are simply lapses that also occur in the speech of native speakers; they are errors that a learner can identify and correct when they have been brought to his attention. Rojas (71) and Widdowson (91) correctly point out that there are errors that are used in free variation with the correct forms and others that the learner is able to identify but that he cannot avoid making when he is using the language for communicative purposes. One would want to distinguish between these errors and simple lapses. Corder (17) proposes a three-way classification of errors on the basis of the learners' ability to correct them and their ability to identify and explain them (the plus and minus signs refer to the possibility or impossibility, respectively, of the learner to correct or explain a particular error he has made):

	correction	explanation
1 presystematic errors	—	—
2 systematic errors	—	+
3 postsystematic errors	+	+

"Silent" errors

Systematic errors characterize learner systems and may be used as a frame of reference in correction. Rojas also mentions "invisible" or "silent" errors to refer to the learners' avoidance of the use of structures that they have not mastered or that differ markedly from surface structure features of their first language. Schachter (73) points out, for example, that Chinese and Japanese learners of English show fewer errors in relativization than do Arabic or Persian learners. The latter produce deviant sentences like:

9 "The boy that he came."
10 "The boy that John hit him."

The seemingly error-free performance by Chinese and Japanese learners results from avoidance of relativization, for in their native language relativization clauses appear on the left rather than on the right of the modified noun phrase. The Arabic and Persian speakers produced relative clauses since differences between their language and English are relatively minor with regard to this structural feature. The possibility of such "silent" errors underscores the importance of the lateralization and elicitation procedures explored by Kellerman (49).

Source of errors

One of the important findings of recent research is that not

Interlingual errors

Intralingual errors

Richards' classification

all (and perhaps very few) errors may be traced to the direct influence of the native language. Errors may be analyzed as *interlingual* and *intralingual*. Among the undeniable interlingual errors is the transfer of the mode of articulation of the native language in the production of target language sounds. Borrowing of lexical items (some of which may be phrases) and calquing are also quite frequent. The latter process involves the use of target language lexemes to express a native language concept, for example, the famous "the pen of my aunt" from French *la plume de ma tante*, or in the reverse direction, "on the other hand" rendered as *sur l'autre main* instead of *par ailleurs* or *par contre*. Borrowing and calquing result from insufficient knowledge of the lexicon of the target language and from communicative demands that outstrip the learner's linguistic proficiency. These phenomena are more superficial than transfer of syntactic features (interference). However, to distinguish the latter from intralingual errors is not always easy. For instance, a French speaker's production of "I go to swim" ("I'm going swimming") may be traceable not only to the French use of the auxiliary verb *aller* plus infinitive to express futurity but also to the generalization of the base form of the verb. Richards (69) has proposed a four-way classification of intralingual errors: overgeneralization, ignorance of rule restriction, incomplete application of rules, false concept hypothesizing. This classification is used widely to classify data gathered from cross-sectional samples (Gee and Burden, 32; Powell, 63), but its defining criteria are somewhat vague and ambiguous. The first three categories involve the notion of rule extension or restriction. Overgeneralization is the regularization of structures by the extension of a major rule, for example, the use of the base form of English verbs in all contexts: "He speak," "I am walk," "I was work." Ignorance of rule restriction refers to the extension of a minor rule by analogy. Incomplete application of rules involves the failure to apply syntactic rules, such as inversion in "What was called the film?" "What she doing?" "You did leave?" False concepts hypothesized reflects the learner's ignorance of significant target language distinctions, for example, *ser* vs. *estar* in Spanish or *kennen* vs. *wissen* in German. Except for overgeneralization, Richards' classification of intralingual errors does not relate to processes of language learning and fails to provide any insights into the mechanisms underlying the learner hypotheses and the development of learner systems.

The communicative effect of errors

The fourth approach to the analysis and interpretation of errors yields the most useful insights for pedagogical applications. A distinction is made between errors that interfere with the communication of a message in context and those that represent various types of violation of surface structure. Olsson (58) submitted passive sentences produced by Swedish learners to English speakers to determine which deviations were likely to result in noninterpretability. Even such grossly deviant sentences as "The thief catch by the policeman" were correctly understood because of the redundant nature of the code. One of the crucial steps in an error-analysis algorithm proposed by Corder (17) is the reconstruction by the hearer of the intended message in context without recourse to the native language equivalent. Such a recourse, required for complete analysis of errors by the teacher, implies failure to communicate in the second language. The most useful criterion, then, for a pedagogically oriented analysis of errors is whether the deviation involves failure to make or express an obligatory syntactic process mapping deep-structure onto interpretable surface structure. Pronunciation inaccuracies may also be classified with respect to the notion of obligatory choice. Only failure to distinguish between contrastive sounds (surface phonemes) may lead to wrong interpretation. Generally, in context a wide margin of error is tolerated. In the example above, *catch* could be pronounced in a variety of ways provided it was kept distinct from *coach*: "The thief was coach by the policeman" is an interpretable sentence but its meaning differs from the one intended. If successful communication is the principal goal of a foreign language instruction program, considerable deviation from native speech may be tolerated. Johansson (48), however, introduced the factor of native speaker irritation in the evaluation of the effect of errors on communication. Pronunciation errors seldom reduce the comprehensibility of learners' speech but they may cause irritation to native listeners.

Comprehensibility

Pronunciation errors

Corder (17) introduces two other noteworthy distinctions in the analysis of errors. Errors are opposed to *mistakes* (devia-

Errors versus mistakes

tions in rules for the use of language), control of which is required for the attainment of communicative competence (Hymes, 45). Mistakes result in speech that is socially deviant, such as the use of *Please* when one is offering something or the mixing of styles and registers (for example, Dear and Honored Sir, hurry up and send me the necessary forms). Corder (16) also distinguishes between *normal* and *redundant* errors. The latter are not the consequence of deep-seated processes, but rather are introduced by faulty learning or teaching procedures or materials. Normal errors, on the other hand, are part of the normal development of learner systems.

Normal versus redundant error

Error tolerance

Abundant research in the acquisition of first and second language on the part of children attests to the validity of the Italian proverb "One learns by erring." The current emphasis on communicative competence and the realization that it may be achieved by less than flawless surface form has caused a strong reaction in some quarters against the obsessive concern with error avoidance that has generally characterized audiolingually oriented language instruction. Although in a natural setting communicative competence may be achieved with speech that contains errors, does this imply that errors should also be tolerated in formal language acquisition?

Communicative competence?

First, one may question whether communicative competence is the most highly valued objective in a general language course. One may also wonder whether any significant level of communicative competence may be attained in the very constraining environment of the classroom. The observation of the classroom practices of most teachers and an examination of the tests they use and prepare leads one to conclude that their central concern remains knowledge of structure and that they consider the attainment of a minimal level of communicative ability as a secondary course objective. Some methodologists (Wilkins, 92) go so far as to suggest that except for a minimal level of speaking ability achieved with the aid of simulation techniques, communicative competence may best be deferred to more advanced levels of instruction and to special-purpose courses.

Second, there is evidence that when the acquisition of a second language occurs in a natural setting (for example, in the case of migrant workers), grammatically deviant though communicatively adequate speech is highly stigmatized and evokes stereotypic negative judgments on the part of members of the "host" community (Cohen, 12). Ill-formed speech may enable the migrant worker to "get along," but the fossilization of these deviations condemns him to depreciated social status. From a sociolinguistic point of view, his communicative strategies may be characterized as unsuccessful. While sensitivity to grammatical deviance varies from community to community, native speakers do seem to expect a high level of correctness from learners who have acquired a language by formal training. As Cohen points out, a more promising orientation in dealing with stigmatizing errors is to sensitize the listeners in accepting phonologically inaccurate and grammatically deviant speech from nonnative speakers.

Stigmatization of erroneous speech

Unfortunately, there is scarcely any research dealing with the perception and evaluation of errors on the part of naive native listeners (Johansson, 48). Errors that native listeners fail to notice need minimal correction; they may even find their place in pedagogical sequences if they lead to more rapid acquisition. For example, in a pilot study French listeners scored very low (that is, they were very tolerant of) inaccurate renditions of uvular [R] or glided realizations of final tense [e] and [o], but they were not tolerant of the nasalization of vowels occurring before nasal consonants and weakly realized final consonants (Pajault, 59). This is not surprising because the latter two features serve to distinguish masculine from feminine forms of adjectives or third person singular from third person plural present indicative forms of verbs (*américain/américaine, vient/viennent; grand/grande, attend/attendent*). Yet remedial pronunciation handbooks devote considerable space to [R] and the production of unglided final vowels while generally neglecting the inaccuracies readily observed and severely scored by native judges.

Native speaker evaluation of errors

Reduction of errors

Let us assume that one of the primary objectives of audiolingually oriented instruction should be the attainment early in the course of minimal communicative competence and relatively error-free speech. A major criterion in the evaluation of materials and the ordering of grammatical features that underlies them is the degree to which they help students to avoid errors. The most highly valued ordering is that which enables the learner to express the greatest variety of messages while producing the fewest deviant sentences. Collection and analysis of errors serves to evaluate the efficiency of pedagogical sequences: Sequences that result in a high error rate or in the production of fossilization errors are to be rejected. But to proceed in such a purely empirical fashion is impractical—the possible combinations of grammatical features would be unmanageable, even in a beginning course—and more theoretical guiding principles must be sought.

Postponement of active production

First, one might postpone active speech production. At the beginning of the century Palmer (60) asserted that learners should not be permitted to produce any utterance in the target language until they had internalized its structure—that is, in more modern terms, until they had acquired linguistic competence in it. It was shown in a recent experiment that learners who had been given listening comprehension training instead of oral practice performed as well in a speaking test as a control group allowed to speak during the initial phase of the course (Postovsky, 62). Asher (1) reports that delaying active practice for a few class sessions led to promising results. Students are required to effect total physical response in reacting to commands; after this initial listening comprehension phase, they begin to speak quite spontaneously. The postponement of the active use of language has a well motivated basis in observation of the acquisition of a second language in a free-learning situation. It has been noted frequently that young children who learn a second language under natural conditions in a host country will not produce any utterances for a period ranging up to several months (Ervin-Tripp, 28). Sorensen (79) has noted that among indigenous tribes in the Northwest Amazon, the initial phase of the acquisition of the language of some other tribe involves passive learning:

> The Indians do not practice speaking a language that they do not know well yet. Instead, they passively learn lists of

> words, forms, and phrases in it and familiarize themselves with the sounds of its pronunciation. . . . They make an occasional preliminary attempt to speak a new language in an appropriate situation, but if it does not come easily, they will not try to force it (p. 679).

This strategy of language acquisition is particularly noteworthy because these tribes are exogamous, and as a consequence, children grow up speaking at least two different languages. Sorensen's informants report that fluency is acquired only after a period ranging from one to two years. This belies the widespread belief of the rapidity of language learning among so-called primitive tribal societies. Another approach, advocated by Belasco (2), is to select a small number of grammatical features for productive use and to expect the learner to have only passive control of the others.

Inferences from pidginization

Second, inferences could be drawn from the field of pidginization. It was shown that this process is no doubt the result of the interplay between universals of language acquisition and universals of language structure whose result is the facilitation of decoding and encoding operations (Hymes, 44). Artificially simplified reduced varieties of the target language could be devised in introductory stages of formal language instruction or in certain free-learning contexts. George (33) has coined the term "little language" to refer to a type of classroom speech devised specifically to maximize communicative potential while reducing errors: "For wide coverage of language needs with minimum error production, each item in the little language should be justified, and should be easy to pronounce and spell, morphological features should be regular, and the items should enter into predictable relationships" (p. 54). Such maximally efficient and logical systems are represented by artificial interlanguages like Esperanto, but there are no published attempts to apply this maximalization to natural languages. Nickel's (57) suggestion stems from his experience with the reduced German spoken by large numbers of migrant "guest" workers in the German Federal Republic. He proposes that courses be prepared that incorporate some of the features of Gastarbeiter Deutsch, particularly reduction of case distinctions. Before such reduced neutralized teaching varieties of the target language can be

Artificial "reduced" language

devised and tried out in formal teaching situations, more information must be obtained about native speaker reactions to various types of deviant speech. While such features as gender classifications are redundant and do not contribute to semantic distinctions, native speakers might attach high stigma to speech from which these features would be absent.

Pedagogical norms

A third approach that should be explored is the elaboration of pedagogical norms (Valdman, 87). These involve increasing the generality of rules by eliminating "free" variants. Unlike reduced "little languages," pedagogical norms do not involve the use of forms considered deviant or highly stigmatized by native speakers. For example, traditional descriptions of French distinguish obligatory and optional liaison. Because the number of forms to which obligatory liaison applies are quite limited, considerable simplification is effected by the elimination of the category of optional liaison. Cases of optional liaison are simply redefined as obligatory (for example, *il est ici,* where both [iletisi] *or* [ileisi] are in fact permitted) or as cases of no liaison (for example, *il voulait entrer*), where both [ilvuletãtre] and [ilvuleãtre] are permitted). Another type of reduction of variation involves redefining as provisionally synonymous those constructions or forms that show partial semantic overlap. (The term *synonymous* is used with the meaning it has in standard generative-transformational theory.) For example, in French, instead of using the inflectionally complex future tense to express futurity, one may replace it with the periphrastic *aller* plus infinitive construction, though strictly speaking, the latter conveys the meaning of immediate futurity.

Finally, the direct observation of errors may suggest pedagogical sequences that will result in the fewest errors. Reference was made to Valdman's (84, 87) study in which he found that American learners tended to generalize the question type requiring only the use of a question word at the beginning of a sentence without the use of the interrogative marker *est-ce que* or inversion of subject and verb. He also points out that this structure is typical of child language and of colloquial adult speech. That the students' use of this construction reflected a natural learning syllabus was hypothesized (Hanzeli, 40), and it was the construction chosen for presentation in the beginning lessons of teaching materials. This was done to permit learners to express themselves as early as possible in the course despite the fact that native speakers consider the construction stylistically inappropriate, if not downright incorrect.

Error analysis, learner systems, and teaching materials

Because they reflect hypotheses that learners employ to process language data, learner systems provide some principled basis for a modification of the language data input itself. But the relative paucity of research results, the great complexity of the data, and the tentative nature of conclusions drawn by various investigators suggest that extreme caution is required in applying insights from this developing field to practical problems of language instruction. Speaking of a "Learner System Approach" to language teaching would be preposterous. At least, one might attempt to identify some *im*plications rather than *ap*plications.

Ervin-Tripp (28) sets forth four principles of second language learning from her observation of French by English-speaking children in a free-learning situation:

Principles of second language acquisition

1. Second language learners tend to remember items that are meaningful to them and that they can interpret.
2. Learners look for a one-to-one relationship between form and meaning and reject forms they perceive as synonymous.
3. Attention is focused on the salient part of utterances, namely the initial and final portion, and medial material is likely to be disregarded.
4. The use of order-processing strategies, such as the maintenance of basic sentence order, is a central component.

These converge with processes that characterize pidginization:

Features of pidginization

1. The reduction of variant forms and the selection of the phonologically fullest form among the variants
2. The replacement of inflectional endings by free-function words

3 The adoption of invariant word order and the elimination of transformations that permute syntactic elements
4 The elimination of redundant concord and agreement features, such as those determined by gender differentiation in nouns

If errors in specific areas of the structure of the target language occur quite frequently within learner systems characteristic of significant groups of learners, detailed modifications in teaching materials would seem to be indicated. In general, the observation of samples of speech produced by learners in formal courses indicates that to permit learners to communicate while making a limited number of errors, radical changes need to be effected in current procedures for the development of teaching materials. Changes are particularly indicated in the area of selection and grading.

Selection

In the area of selection George (33) points out the need to eliminate from early stages of instruction lexical items with low frequency; furthermore, lexical items should occur with frequencies characteristic of those they have in authentic target language texts. It is particularly important to eliminate low frequency forms introduced by excessive adherence to linguistic selection criteria. George also makes a plea for the selection of lexical items that develop the learner's ability to communicate and that are compatible with his communicative and expressive needs. This raises the problem of the choice between contrived and authentic materials. In early stages of instruction the latter may not fill the learner's needs because they imply the use of the target language in an authentic context or situation. The learner might be more highly motivated to use the second language if he could use it to talk about the classroom environment, within the cultural matrix of his own language and his own experiences. These conditions would differ significantly from those to be found in natural communicative contexts in the target language community.

Grading

Grading procedures of most foreign language courses reflect views incompatible with the learning model implicit in the notion of learner systems. These grading procedures are based on linguistic rather than functional criteria. They give higher priority to levels of language structure–phonology, morphology, and surface syntax–that are not so central to the structure and development of approximate systems as deep syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. This incompatibility is no doubt at the source of the growing feeling among methodologists and applied linguists about the lack of relevance of linguistic theory to problems of second language learning and teaching (Quinn, 66). For instance, some courses introduce grammatical features in an order that reflects their mode of presentation in pedagogical grammars intended for native speakers of the target language. Current materials also show an insistence on the introduction of complete paradigms and monolithic categories such as interrogation and the subjunctive mood. But in a beginning French course, for example, there is no need to introduce the entire set of possessive adjectives. Longitudinal studies of the acquisition of French by young children show that the singular forms (*mon, ton, son*) develop first and are much more frequent in texts than the plural forms. For each set there would seem to be no compelling need to present all six adjectives and all their variant phonological forms.

Grading based excessively on structural criteria

In most current material the ordering of grammatical features is linear rather than cyclical (Corder, 17)—that is, global categories, such as the definite article or the present tense, are introduced sequentially. Linear ordering has certain disadvantages. First, the learner is not provided with sufficient receptive and repetitive experience (George, 33, pp. 62–72). Second, he has no opportunity to integrate subparts of each category with the others in that category or with those of other categories. For example, the present tense has a wide number of functional meanings in English—present state, habitual action, timeless truths, verbs of perception, time conditional sentences, futurity of reference. However, futurity is expressed by other grammatical features—the use of the modals *will* and *shall*, for instance. A cyclical progression, whereby a given feature is reintroduced at several points and combined with related features, would seem to be more in accord with learner strategies. The notion of cyclical ordering is exemplified by the following example of French adjectives. Many materials introduce all morphological types at the same time—Adjectives with a single pronounced form, such as *rouge, noir,* or *carré,* are mixed with those whose masculine form differs from the feminine, such as *blanc/blanche, petit/petite, bon/bonne;* regular types of masculine versus feminine alternation (*petit/petite*) are not separated

Cyclical ordering

from those that show irregularities (*bon/bonne, vieux/vieille*). In materials characterized by cyclical ordering the various morphological types of adjectives would be introduced in different lessons. One might introduce first the simplest type (adjectives whose masculine and feminine spoken forms are identical), then adjectives with distinct masculine and feminine forms showing the regular patterns, and finally various irregular types. An attempt would also be made to relate morphological types and lexical fields. The simplest type of adjectives would be illustrated with adjectives of color (*rouge, noir, jaune*), regular adjectives showing distinct masculine and feminine forms with adjectives of size (*grand/grande, haut/haute*), and so on. This way, students would have the opportunity to integrate the various types more gradually and would not be forced into making erroneous overgeneralizations.

Weakness of linguistic feature ordering

The basis of definition of grammatical features in most current materials is also viewed as inadequate (Corder, 17). Groupings such as definite article, indefinite article, regular verbs, irregular verbs, sentence patterns, transformational relationships (positive vs. negative, declarative vs. imperative vs. interrogative, active vs. passive) may prevent the learner from discovering underlying regularities and may lead him to formulate wrong hypotheses and, consequently, to produce errors.

Notional ordering

There are many other ways of ordering linguistic features that may be more in accord with learner hypotheses and reflect more accurately the use of language in communicative situations. For instance, one might organize materials in terms of semantic notions (futurity, volition) or speech acts (requesting information, apologizing, persuading) (Wilkins, 92). Students might be trained to express futurity by a variety of means–adverbs of time and use of the present (*je fais ça demain*), the use of the periphrastic immediate future (*je vais faire ça*), or the future tense (*je ferai ça*). The object would be to express the concept of futurity rather than to demonstrate the ability to manipulate a particular grammar structure referring to futurity.

Errors and the communicative setting

Finally, foreign language courses are generally overambitious. More vocabulary items and grammatical features are introduced than the learner can possibly assimilate and incorporate into his learner system. Excessive input cannot be efficiently stored in the learner's memory bank nor easily retrieved from memory storage because of the paucity of multisensory experiences linked to words and grammatical structures. Excessive errors are a symptom that the learner's storage and retrieval capacity are overloaded; they are also a signal for the reduction of input so that the learner's cognitive mechanism can process new words and structures and integrate them with previously learned material.

Excessive input

Another common shortcoming of foreign language courses is that learners are forced to engage in communicative activities that far exceed their expressive capabilities; they cannot succeed without recourse to heavy borrowing and calquing from their native language (Ervin-Tripp, 28; Reibel, 68). Several authors (Ervin-Tripp, 28; Hanzeli, 40) have pointed out that errors may result from the lack of naturalness in the classroom setting. Communicative competence is best attained when vocabulary and grammatical features are presented in a natural and meaningful setting. In this connection, Widdowson (91) draws an interesting distinction between *reference rules* and *expression rules*. The latter refer to what the learner does in a communicative situation and the former to what he knows about the language. Reference rules, as their name implies, also refer to a given norm—in the second language learning situation, the target language. Manipulative activities such as pattern drills or even guided conversations provide information about the learner's control of reference rules, but they do not necessarily give any indication of how he would perform in communicative situations. Expression rules characterize how the learner uses vocabulary and grammatical features to communicate effectively. Widdowson underscores the fact that what appear on the surface to be errors are in fact the reflection of processes whereby the language user adjusts his behavior in the interest of communicative effectiveness. To return to our example about the expression of futurity in French, the learner who produces *Je va faire ça demain* may have no difficulty in producing the correct future tense forms in pattern drills; additional drill or explanations might not necessarily lead to the use of correct forms in communicative situations. The learner unconsciously elects

Reference versus expressive rules

Communicative effectiveness

Je va faire because it simplifies his communication of the message. To correct him and to force him to produce the corresponding future tense form would destroy his communicative intent and reduce the simulated conversation to a manipulative drill.

Conclusion: Some pedagogical implications

In this chapter we have presented a current model of second language learning wherein student errors are viewed in a positive fashion. First, they are manifestations of the hypotheses he formulated about the data presented to him—a natural learning syllabus. Because such errors are inevitable, their observation and analysis constitute a necessary starting point, both for the formulation of theories about language learning and the preparation of teaching materials. Second, only if he deviates from the target language norm and resorts to a variety of strategies (elimination of redundant features—for him and within a specific situation; use of paraphrases, resorting to native language vocabulary or grammatical constructions by calquing) can the learner engage in natural communicative activities. To correct excessively, to insist on the production of well-formed sentences under all sorts of classroom conditions and in all types of learning activities is incompatible with teaching approaches that place a high priority on the attainment of a certain level of communicative competence. This does not mean that correction of errors does not have a place in the classroom. However, correction must be carried out in a way that is appropriate to specific classroom activities and compatible with the development of the individual learner's approximative system.

Curricular design and teaching objectives

More modest teaching objectives must be set. Foreign language teaching materials and pedagogical practices in current use reflect overambitious and unrealizable goals. Neither relatively error-free performance nor any significant level of communicative competence can be achieved when the learner is presented with an input of vocabulary items and grammatical features that overloads his processing capabilities.

Modest goals

A distinction must be made between the acquisition of reference rules and expressive rules (Widdowson, 91). Both are legitimate objectives of formal language study, but they require different types of settings. Curricula must be devised that provide for the different types of activities in which these two sets of rules are acquired. Particularly, more appropriate settings and procedures must be established for the acquisition of communicative competence and the expressive rules that underlie it.

Teaching materials

The selection and ordering of linguistic features must be more compatible with learner approximative systems. Not only should linguistic features introduced in early stages be easier for the learner to acquire, but we must abandon the current overemphasis on grammar as the basis for selection and ordering. New principles must be sought that do not derive directly from any particular theory of linguistics but which reflect the ways learners process and organize linguistic material and the types of strategies that they employ in the actual use of language. For instance, current materials fail to underscore such techniques as paraphrasing that enable learners to express intended messages when they lack particular vocabulary or structures. Materials must also reflect more realistic target language norms. An elementary knowledge of a language and a rudimentary level of communicative competence may be achieved without adhering to the most elaborate styles and the most prestigious dialects of the target language. These are precisely the most difficult varieties of the target language to acquire and those that are most distant from learner systems.

New principles of selection and ordering

Teaching procedures

Useful practical suggestions for the correction of errors that fit within the viewpoint summarized in this chapter are offered by Cohen (12), Hanzeli (40), and Holley and King (43). These authors point out that a priority must be established among errors and that correction should reflect the severity of the error. Two principles are useful in establishing priorities: the effect of the error on the intelligibility of the message, *in situation* and not in the abstract, and the degree of stigma attached to the error by native speakers or the degree to which they will find them irritating or embarrassing. Correction should also take into consideration the relationship between an error and the

Priorities in correction

state of the learner system: It is useless to provide correction when the correct form cannot be incorporated within the approximative system. More appropriate and efficient than correction is *expansion*, an indirect way of modifying learners' deviant productions or of permitting them to express intended messages when they lack specific vocabulary and structure; expansion is widely used by parents with young children. Forcing the learner to repeat the corrected form is an artificial step that is incompatible with genuine communication and that reduces his freedom to communicate.

Expansion, not correction

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Free to reach out

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Introduction

A new freedom seems to characterize foreign language programs across the United States: Foreign language specialists, supervisors, and teachers are beginning to reach out beyond the walls of the classroom to the immediate school community, to the broader school community, and finally to the public at large.

Focus of chapter

The central focus of this chapter is school and community relations, including communication with counselors, administrators, and school boards. Successful efforts of foreign language teachers and supervisors in the domain of public relations are described. Various elements that comprise the "community" are analyzed, and the chapter concludes with an evaluation of the present impact of foreign language programs on the public and a blueprint for the future. Emphasis is on the secondary level.

Rationale

Requirements of effective PR

Most educators now realize that any successful program must include the following: good human relations, systematic activi-

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ties to tell the school story, carefully planned ways of soliciting the reactions of parents and of the community representatives, and genuine parent and community involvement (Kovalcik, 25). Boards of education have primary responsibility for effective public relations. They are the link between the public and school employees. Many districts throughout the nation have established a formal, written, publicly adopted board of education policy on school-community public relations (Kovalcik, 25). For example, the following statement has been made by the New York City Board of Education:

School–community PR policy

> The school system—central headquarters, district offices and schools—will inform local school boards, parent and parent-teacher associations, and the general public about the administration and operation of the schools, frankly and completely, by every possible medium.
>
> All reports of evaluations of experimental, demonstration and on-going programs in the school system . . . are to be made public. . . .
>
> The school system will use every possible means to ascertain public attitudes and invite constructive suggestions about all phases of its operation for consideration in the planning of policies and procedures.
>
> Every employee of the school system has a role in the improvement of communication between the schools and the public. . . . (p. 18).

This school system and many others with similar policies are attempting to bridge the wide gap that has existed for many years between school and community. When one considers, however, the enormity of the task involved in informing the "public" about "all phases of the school's operation" and when one assesses the degree to which enrollments in foreign language programs have fallen since our "heyday" in the late 1950s and early 1960s, it becomes increasingly apparent that foreign language supervisors and teachers must themselves reach out in an effort to promote their product. Arendt (3) points out that because students are not "beating down the doors to get into our classes," we will have to devise means of attracting them.

Need to reach out

In an age in which unusual emphasis is being placed on all aspects of communication media, our mandate is clearly to make use of all available media to transmit our message.

Kovalcik (24) reminds us that we need to listen more attentively, that we need to learn the value of knowing "what's on the public's mind" and that we must subsequently use this information to improve policies and procedures. But first, we must have a clear understanding of what me mean by the "public."

Identifying the public

For secondary schools

For secondary schools the first "public" is represented by the immediate school community consisting of present and former students, other teachers of foreign languages, teachers of other disciplines, guidance personnel, department heads, the principal of the school, and nonteaching personnel. For college teachers this might include the college Provost, the department head, the Public Relations Coordinator, the director of the College Public Relations Bureau, members of faculty representative bodies, and present and former students.

For colleges and universities

Broader school community

The broader school community includes the feeder schools (administrators, students, parents, and teachers); local religious institutions; local community associations; public service institutions (hospitals, child care centers, libraries); local stores; institutions of higher learning; other school systems; the Board of Education, including divisions such as a Bureau of Foreign Languages, a Bureau of Curriculum Development, and a Bureau of Audiovisual Instruction.

Public at large

The public at large includes radio and television audiences, newspaper readers, professional foreign language organizations, foreign consulates and embassies, international firms—in effect, all relevant sectors of the city or community as well as those of other cities and communities.

Any attempt to reach beyond the confines of the foreign language classroom leads the profession into a highly complex multifaceted realm. Promotion of our discipline obviously requires careful systematic analysis and understanding of the nature of the particular segment of the public we want to reach. These segments provide the organizational structure of this chapter.

The immediate school community

Teacher-student interaction

Students as PR agents

A large corps of potential public relations agents already exists—in each and every one of our classrooms. Who knows better than our own students what is going on in our programs, and who can have the greatest credibility in promoting them in the community? Traditionally, a student's role in public relations has been limited to contacts with parents and neighbors. If he is well behaved, does well in class, and likes his teachers, he projects a positive, though passive, image. But if he feels genuinely involved in the day-to-day life of the school, he may actually adopt a missionary role in speaking to service clubs and feeder school assemblies (36).

First, however, we must win him over, annex him to the cause, and here the teacher is most crucial. Ryder (33) emphasizes that the most important way in which we can establish our image in this significant segment of the immediate community is through the collective personality of our teachers. In a public relations test designed for foreign language teachers and supervisors, Warner (37) sensitizes teachers to the nature of their relationships with students by eliciting response to the following questions: "Are you firm, but fair? Are you sympathetic and understanding? Do you recognize the fact that not every student is gifted in all aspects of the foreign language? Is there a warm, comfortable atmosphere in your classroom? Are you enthusiastic about the subject you teach? Is your enthusiasm communicated to your students?"

This emphasis on atmosphere, warmth, enthusiasm, and fairness appears repeatedly in the professional literature. Allen (2) believes that "students tend to achieve at a higher level in classes taught by warm, less dominating teachers." Warriner (39) suggests that we might consider Paulo Freire's (15) humanizing approach, which "charges the teacher with maximum responsibility in drawing out the full potential of the student." In applying Freire's philosophy to the existing "walled-in" concept of education as contrasted with education for life in a "new world without walls," she cites 10 parallel criteria.

Note that the observations in Column A refer to the walled-in concept, whereas those in Column B reflect more humanistic ideas. The foreign language teacher might well attempt to determine the extent to which his teacher-student relationships might improve through the implementation of some or all of the con-

Teacher–student relationships

cepts in Column B. Good teacher-student relations lead inevitably to good public relations.

Lovern's parallel criteria

	A		*B*
1	The teacher teaches and the students are taught.	1	The teacher and the students teach.
2	The teacher knows everything and the students know nothing.	2	The teacher and the students have certain knowledge.
3	The teacher thinks and the students are thought about.	3	The teacher and the students think.
4	The teacher talks and the students listen—meekly.	4	The teacher and the students talk.
5	The teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined.	5	The teacher and the students discipline.
6	The teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply.	6	The teacher and the students choose and work together.
7	The teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher.	7	The teacher and the students act.
8	The teacher chooses the program content and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it.	8	The teacher and the students choose the program content.
9	The teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his own professional authority, which he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students.	9	The teacher and the students share in the freedom of the classes.
10	The teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.	10	The teacher and the students learn together. (Lovern, 29).

Item 8 suggests that the teacher and students might choose the program content together. To what extent are our students involved in decisions most vital to them? Working Committee 1, in preparation for the 1975 Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, devised a questionnaire (32) for foreign language students which gave them an opportunity to express their particular interests with regard to the program. The questionnaire identifies students only in terms of school, language, and level. It asks for their preferences among topics to talk about and among various reading materials; it asks what they like most and least in their class; and it inquires about career interests.

Questionnaire for students

Lavergneau (26) affirms that the success of any foreign language program is due, in large measure, to the success of the students. Students do not enjoy failing. He reminds us that students have been our best salesmen, but that they have also been our worst critics. We must listen to them, open our doors to all of them, and adapt our courses to meet their varying needs. For, as Strasheim (35) questioned, "Can we continue to fight for a place in the curriculum for a discipline which only 30% (or less) of the total population of the school ever study anyway?" (p. 31).

Students: salesmen and critics

In this chapter we do not dwell on curriculum, a subject that could fill volumes, but we must be aware of the need for major curricular changes to relate to today's students. These changes, many of which are already in progress throughout the country, must provide a wide variety of courses closely geared to the special needs of the student. Warner (38), as principal writer of the revised New York City foreign language curriculum in French, Spanish, and Italian, has developed culturally oriented situational themes, which while presenting the language in a more meaningful and enjoyable way, also involve the student directly in each cultural situation. The latter is accomplished by means of brief classroom dramatizations related to the cultural theme. Foreign language career courses in the areas of health, business, science, the airline industry, and communication are also currently being offered in many secondary schools.

Variety of courses

Learning incentives

We all love rewards or incentives; somehow we never grow too old to appreciate praise. In addition to a lavish gift of praise when merited, the foreign language teacher can grant end-of-term certificates, send letters of commendation to the student's home, send exceptional work to the head of the department or principal, videotape exceptionally good oral performances, or

Rewarding our students

have orally gifted students put on foreign language dramatizations in lower-level classes. A troupe of traveling foreign language performers serves as a wonderful incentive to keep students in a program. These performers may also be sent to groups that have not yet elected the study of a foreign language or to feeder schools to perform for parents and students. Such performances provide a service to the foreign language program and reward the participating students, as they recognize from the approval of others the degree of fluency they have acquired in the foreign language.

Many foreign language departments take part in local and national foreign language contests and scholarship exams, but the Hackensack Public Schools go one step further and offer a study-abroad scholarship program as an incentive (Lavergneau, 26). Students have spent summers in Mexico, Germany, France, Italy, French Canada, Belgium, and Ecuador. The returning scholarship awardees have served as public relations agents by speaking and performing before local community groups and other school systems.

Study-abroad scholarship program

Student publications

Although foreign language student publications always provide a good press for the foreign language program, these publications are seldom put to proper use. They are not often enough sent to the principal, department heads, other teachers, parents, guidance counselors, school board members, foreign language bureaus, and district superintendents. Significant excerpts can be printed in the parents' association bulletin or newsletter.

Sending representative students to visit classes at registration time or on course selection day can also be very effective. These students can describe the courses in the foreign language program and answer questions. Young people are often more willing to listen to each other than to teachers and supervisors. Former students can be encouraged to return and speak to classes about their college or career experiences and the effect of their years of foreign language study.

Involving teachers of other disciplines

Teachers of other disciplines can also serve as public relations agents for foreign language education. In addition to opportunities to invite teachers of other disciplines to foreign language programs, fiestas, musicales, and exhibits, direct in-

Interdisciplinary programs

volvement can also be brought about through interdisciplinary programs such as the one at Hillcrest High School in New York. The School of International Studies at Hillcrest High School operates as a school within a school, combining the efforts of the social studies, English, and foreign language departments. Teachers from these departments work and plan together to present courses dealing with the historical, political, literary, cultural, and esthetic characteristics of the many nations studied on an imaginary world tour. Built into the program is the requirement that the students study one or a combination of two languages for a total of five years. The Hillcrest High School student may choose from any of the nine foreign languages offered by the department—French, Spanish, Italian, Hebrew, Latin, German, Russian, Mandarin Chinese, and modern Greek.

When we reach out to our students by designing relevant courses to meet their needs, we encourage them to reach out to the community at large.

Department chairmen and guidance personnel

Guidance role of chairman

The need for a good relationship and clear and frequent communication between the foreign language chairman and the guidance staff cannot be overemphasized. The following questions should highlight important aspects of this relationship:

> Does the foreign language chairman meet frequently with guidance counselors and grade advisors to clarify course offerings, course credits, credits from the lower school, credit for native ability, etc.?
>
> Does the foreign language chairman make known to the guidance department the many careers for which a knowledge of a foreign language is most beneficial?
>
> Are appropriate foreign language leaflets and descriptive materials presented to the guidance staff? For example, language requirements for specific majors in various colleges.
>
> Is the guidance staff invited to foreign language productions?
>
> Does the guidance staff receive foreign language publications (Warner, 37)?

Loew (28) suggests that the foreign language chairman insist that no student be dropped from foreign language courses without his permission and that he take time to explain guidance procedures to the foreign language teachers who can then prevent costly errors. "Your interest in guidance," she states, "your verbal and written praise of their good relationship with the foreign language department, can lead to better understanding and increased enrollment!"

Foreign language chairmen and parents

The foreign language chairman has the responsibility of ensuring that meaningful communication and smooth relationships be maintained between the foreign language staff and the parents of youngsters who participate in the program. Relationships with parents should not always revolve around problems. In addition to the regular school open house invitations, special invitations can be issued by the foreign language department to parent workshops during and after school hours. These workshops, perhaps no more than one per semester, provide firsthand information about the foreign language program. Parents have an opportunity to see and examine the many materials used in the program; hear about new methodology, new projects, exciting trips; and perhaps even become students again in a minilesson taught in the language of their choice. The language lab can also be included in a live demonstration to parents of the modern technology in use today in the teaching of foreign languages.

Workshops for parents

A wealth of foreign language talents is available in most communities. The chairman might invite target-language-speaking parents to serve as guest speakers or to visit classes to tell students about the country whose language they are studying. Foreign-born parents might also be willing to help plan foreign festivals, foreign food fairs, and foreign language week.

Involvement of foreign-born parents

In the Hackensack, New Jersey, Public Schools, teachers and supervisors offer courses in Spanish to the police department (Lavergneau, 26). Their objectives are twofold: They not only create Spanish-speaking police officers but more importantly acquaint these officers with the culture of the Spanish community.

Foreign language community service

Teachers and supervisors in this school system offer inservice courses in Spanish to teachers of other subject areas; provide translation services for local government agencies, private businesses, and philanthropic organizations; and serve as interpreters for the county court and health department. They presently offer a course in Spanish to a group of reporters employed by the *Bergen Record*.

The broader school community

The chief public relations officer to reach the broader school community can well be the foreign language department chairman. Assisted by members of the staff he can speak at community meetings, offer services to the community, as well as keep open lines of communication with feeder schools.

Articulation: lower and highe schools

Good articulation between the lower and higher schools is extremely important. Articulation is enhanced when teachers from all levels within the district meet to discuss methods, materials in use, enrollments, new ideas, projects, cooperative ventures, and problems to be solved. These meetings can bring together personnel from college and high school as well as from high school and junior high school. Hillcrest High School in Queens, New York, has worked out a comprehensive articulation packet to be presented at each feeder junior high school or intermediate school (Salmon, 34). The packet consists of a handbook giving a careful description of all courses available to freshmen and sophomores. An additional brochure contains pictures of various areas of the school. There is a preliminary course selection sheet on which students may make tentative choices. After distribution of the packets a multimedia presentation depicting activities in each of the departments of the high school is given. The preparation of this presentation provides a model for intradepartmental cooperation. Each department was asked to prepare a 15-minute multimedia presentation to describe its program that would serve to motivate incoming students to enroll in its courses. Because this project involved tapes, records, slides, and movies, it became a complex operation: Committees were formed, ideas pooled, materials gathered, a format devised, a script written, background music chosen, and filming and taping completed.

Articulation packet

The work involved in producing this program cannot be overlooked; it represented hundreds of manhours. The result, however, was a product that could be shown to parents, students, and community groups. The multimedia presentation has become one more important link in the school's public relations chain.

Libraries, religious institutions, and local stores might be asked to display posters announcing important school meetings and special events. In multilingual areas, foreign language departments can assist in the preparation of notices and flyers written in the foreign language. Linguistically gifted high school seniors can offer bilingual services to local hospitals and child-care centers. This may be done on a rotating internship basis as is done in many schools today in keeping with the "city as school" philosophy.

City as school

Many ventures into the community must of necessity be conducted after school hours and on weekends. Jackson (22) reports that foreign language educators in the state of Montana are very active in promoting good school-community relations. In Kalispell, Spanish teachers have developed a monthly Spanish evening, which has been hosted in a restaurant with a Spanish ambience. These meetings are organized by teachers, but are attended by citizens, community college students, and high school students. Adults are drawn from a wide region as voluntary participants. Programs are developed by the group.

Montana

Spanish evenings

Michael Walsh, of Columbia Falls High School, has designed Spanish evenings in cooperation with the high school band. Public concerts of Spanish music are presented with bilingual descriptions by language students of the various Spanish instruments.

In Missoula, Montana, Walter and Georgiana Graf involve parents and community members in the activities of the German club. The Grafs plan and conduct a European (primarily German) tour every other year. Student money for these trips is raised by selling firewood that the German club cuts under the guidance of Walt Graf. Fred Thomson, of Missoula, has organized a foreign language weekend camp for German students. He has recruited adult resource people from the University of Montana and from among citizens of the Missoula area.

Community-assisted European tour

Weekend camp for German students

In Lewistown, Montana, Janice Hutchinson and her French club organize a gigantic community French dinner. Proceeds assist students with foreign travel aspirations.

Edna Mayer and Rosanne Bos, teachers of German, French, and Spanish at Dawson County High School in Glendive, Montana, have developed language evenings with ethnic food and entertainment. Foreign exchange students are invited to attend.

University of Montana

For several years the University of Montana has sponsored a language week to whet community interest and to draw attention to various languages.

Red Lodge, Montana, has engaged in something truly unique! The reaching out in this case was done by the richly varied ethnic representatives of this town. Red Lodge has developed an annual program called "The Festival of the Nations." During eight days in late August this entire community devotes itself to the food, customs, music, and dance of many different ethnic groups; the national focus changes each day.

Oklahoma

The Oklahoma Foreign Language Teachers Association sponsors an award for the best all-around promotion campaign by a school during foreign language week (Gage, 16). Local radio stations in many Oklahoma communities have played the Joint National Committee radio spot announcement tapes "What the People Who Know Have To Say About the Importance of Foreign Language Study."

Akron, Ohio, Foreign Langua
Fair

The city of Akron, Ohio, holds an annual Foreign Language Fair each spring during Foreign Language Week (Durden, 12). It is widely advertised by educational leaders. In the proclamation of Foreign Language Week the mayor proclaimed: "The Akron Public Schools have undertaken a Foreign Language Fair . . . to display the achievement and successes of the students of the Akron Public Schools in the area of foreign languages . . ." A Certificate of Participation is awarded to all students who participate in any aspect of the fair.

University of Maine at Orono

A group of Franco-American students at the University of Maine at Orono have formed the Franco-American Resource Opportunity Group (FAROG) to assist Franco-Americans with adjustment to college life, with their work, and with the development of pride in their culture. They have adopted the frog as a symbol, stating, "Remember, frogs don't leap backwards." The symbol is appearing on book covers, sweaters, and bumpers. "Frog power" has become their slogan. Consequently, there has been a renaissance of pride in Franco-American and French Canadian cultures (Booth, 8).

Several members of the Department of Romance Languages at Tufts University, in Medford, Massachusetts serve as consultants to local school systems and to foreign language departments of various state colleges with regard to such matters as bilingual education, and curriculum planning and development (Green, 20).

Tufts University

Roanoke College in Salem, Virginia provides valuable services for the community (Gathercole, 17). Noncredit evening classes at the college are provided in Chinese, Spanish, French, Russian, Italian, and German. On special high school days, area high school students are invited to French or Spanish films and are given a tour of the campus. The college sends speakers to the local high schools and provides free translation services for the community.

Roanoke College

Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. maintains a Speakers' Bureau that provides speakers for local community programs (Abreu, 1). All of the professors in the Portuguese Department are members of the Bureau and have spoken to various community groups about Portugal, Brazil, and the Portuguese language. The Luso-Brazilian Club, which draws its members from the student body of Georgetown University, invites the public to many of its activities. These include Brazilian Carnival, Christmas in Portugal and Brazil, typical Brazilian dinners such as *feijoada*, lectures and concerts by Portuguese and Brazilian dignitaries and artists. There is an annual Luso-Brazilian Festival featuring music, dance, theatre, and typical food from Brazil and Portugal. Local schools and associations are invited to the festivities. The Middle Atlantic Committee for High School Portuguese, whose main purpose is to promote the study of Portuguese in the Greater Washington area, presents films, lectures, and dinners to reflect the culture of Portugal and Brazil.

Georgetown University

Luso-Brazilian Club

Middle Atlantic Committee

Inter-American University of Puerto Rico has provided a very comprehensive training program for employees of the Digital plant in San Germán and of its subsidiary plant in Aguadilla (Muckley, 30). A three-level Basic Conversational Program in English as a Second Language was specifically designed to meet the needs of these employees. The program has met with great success and as a direct result has led to the enrollment of many of the students in regular credit courses at the university.

Inter-American University of Puerto Rico

"International Fever"

An "International Fever" broke out in the state of Iowa in the spring of 1973. In Cedar Falls, Iowa, James E. Becker, (4) and four foreign language teachers launched one of the most unusual foreign language festivals ever held. First, they decided that the entire state of Iowa should be involved. Working with no capital and no real backing, they sent letters to every foreign language teacher in the state, to community leaders, native speakers, embassies, consulates, travel bureaus, and local and foreign book companies. Contributions and free materials began pouring in. Each school was asked to contribute some kind of foreign language activity to the day's proceedings. Students made decorations, typed name tags, printed signs and play money for the auction. A portion of the one-dollar registration fee was used to purchase buttons (in many languages) for each participant. The remainder of the fee was used to purchase decorations, construction materials for the "International Bank" and bakery shop, trophies, craft materials, foreign coins and stamps, handouts, and hundreds of prizes.

Students wore identification tags indicating their name, school, language, and level. Teachers, representing schools throughout the state, were issued color-coded identification badges indicating their foreign language. The teachers served as conversation leaders, rewarding each student in varying amounts of "money" according to the student's oral ability in the foreign language. The students could purchase edibles with the "money," receive a discount on more expensive items, or bid for items at auctions held in the target language.

The committee received several thousand free coffee measurers from the Pan American Coffee Union, and wondered what to do with them. Finally, they hit upon a novel idea. They could serve as ice-breakers! The bottoms were painted with a language color code, and a single-line expression, idiom, or proverb (in a foreign language) was attached to the handle. As each student filed in, he was given an "icebreaker" and asked to find the person whose expression matched his. When he found the person, they turned their measurers in to the bank. If both persons knew what the expression meant, two units of money were handed out; if not, only one.

St. Louis, Missouri, FLES

A resourceful Spanish teacher from St. Louis, Missouri, decided to launch her own public relations program (Gonzalez, *Spanish class for parents*

19). As a FLES teacher of Spanish, she decided that along with their children the parents of her sixth grade Spanish students should have an opportunity to become aware of the fascinating world of a new language and the people who speak it. In presenting her idea to the coordinator, she proposed a bimonthly Spanish class for the parents, stressing that such a class would have positive public relations values in bringing the parents closer to the school. The idea was accepted, and for the first time in the history of the Ritenour School District, a Spanish class for parents was offered to the community.

School board vs. supervisor

Paul Cincinnato (10), of the Farmingdale, New York Public Schools, took on the entire Board of Education in his efforts to have a fourth grade FLES program reinstated. For budgetary reasons the School Board had dropped the FLES program from the fourth grade and retained it only in Grades 5 and 6 for four years. Cincinnato sent out hundreds of questionnaires to parents, teachers, and graduates of the FLES program, soliciting their reaction to the program of foreign languages in the elementary schools and their opinion as to whether it should be reinstated in the fourth grade. Then, armed with the favorable results of his questionnaire, he attended several school board meetings to discuss the matter and offer a solution. Foreign languages had originally been offered for 40 minutes in Grades 4, 5, and 6. Cincinnato proposed that with no additional cost to the district and no additional hiring of teachers, foreign languages could be returned to Grade 4 on the following basis: fourth grade, 20 minutes; fifth grade, 30 minutes; sixth grade, 40 minutes.

The Board members thought it to be an acceptable proposal, but doubted that it could be worked out logistically in view of the completely different structure and timing schedule of the various schools involved. Undaunted, Cincinnato elicited their promise that if he could work it out, they would reinstate the program. He did, and the FLES program is now flourishing in Grades 4, 5, and 6 of the Farmingdale Public Schools.

Oceanside, New York

In connection with two-day career seminars, Oceanside High School in Long Island, New York, sends questionnaires to the parents to assess the degree to which a foreign language is used in their profession or business. In their last poll approximately 75 parents whose work involves the use of one or more foreign languages were identified. These parents are then contacted and asked to participate as speakers or guests on one of the career days. The Oceanside Junior High School also conducts a rather elaborate career program; five hundred students were involved in their most recent program. The students were told about the many careers requiring some knowledge of a foreign language. Job listings in the *New York Times* were cited, and guest speakers whose work involved the use of foreign languages addressed the students. Among the speakers invited by the chairman were a former Peace Corps volunteer, a member of a firm in international business, an airline sales representative, and a secretary (Goldstein, 18).

Oceanside, New York, offers its homes to many foreign students and artists involved in exchange programs, such as Open Door and the Lincoln Center International Choral Festival. These students are also invited to visit the schools where they mingle with the American youngsters and serve as representatives of the foreign culture.

Minnesota: foreign language camps

In the state of Minnesota a few forward-thinking educators conceived the idea that a foreign language camp provided a natural communication environment (Bjerkness,7). Surrounded by master teachers, counselors, and native or near-native speakers of the language who live with the language students, students would be in an environment that best approximates living in the foreign culture itself. Concordia College in Moorhead, Minnesota, established its first language camp in the summer of 1961 for 75 boys and girls. The program has grown to several sessions in each of five languages (French, German, Norwegian, Russian, and Spanish) for hundreds of young people, aged nine to seventeen.

Following Minnesota's lead, several other states have organized summer foreign language camps. Thus, the dreams of a few, now translated into reality, have caught the imagination of parents, children, and educators.

Informative brochure

Fearing (13) has developed a beautiful, fully illustrated brochure entitled "What About Foreign Languages?" It gives an informative, logical, and entertaining rationale for foreign language study.

North Carolina: proposals for action

The Division of Foreign Languages of the state of North Carolina (31), fully cognizant of the need for concerted action, submitted an extremely thorough and comprehensive program of activities for state, regional, and local levels of foreign language educators. A copy of their proposals might well serve as a catalyst to other school systems.

City and state bureaus of foreign languages should be actively involved in the promotion of foreign languages and in constant communication with the schools. The following statement was sent to the author by Paul E. Dammer, Chief, Bureau of Foreign Languages Education, The State Education Department, Albany, New York (11):

Statement of involvement

> The New York State Education Department's Bureau of Foreign Languages Education considers as one of its major functions the active participation of its staff in the process of "reaching out" to attract more pupils in the elementary and secondary public and nonpublic schools into the foreign language program. Toward this end, Bureau staff discusses with school administrators and guidance staff the need to encourage *all* pupils (as opposed to a select group of college-bound) to consider engaging in learning a second language by pointing out the many short-and long-range benefits to be derived from such an experience. Concurrently, it assists teachers in planning and implementing appropriate curricula and classroom strategies to accommodate the greater variety of pupils (in terms of interest, motivation, learning styles, etc.) so that pupils will be able to realize their individual goals. During the winter of 1974/75, the Bureau developed a "traveling road show," designed to acquaint pupils with the values of foreign-language competence in choosing careers. The presentation, made by Bureau staff, is intended for pupils in grades 6–10. It provides pupils with concrete facts about careers in which foreign language competence is essential, with an opportunity to ask questions and contribute their own input, and with handouts that they are asked to take home and discuss with their parents and friends.

Laura Fernandez, of the New York State Education Department, (14), involves herself in a variety of ways. She visits schools throughout the state, encouraging teachers, giving suggestions, congratulating teachers on newsworthy accomplishments or ventures, attending foreign language fairs at various schools and appearing at foreign language conferences throughout the year.

David Weiss (40) spent three weeks in Germany visiting schools and speaking to educators regarding new methodology, curriculum, and school-community relations. Information relative to New York City programs will be shared with foreign language supervisors at periodic meetings.

Director of Foreign Languages totally involved

Leo Benardo makes available to foreign language chairmen listings of new curricular writings which can be obtained from the Bureau of Curriculum Development in New York City. He and his staff initiate and direct the various foreign language curricular projects according to current needs. He works closely with the Association of Assistant Principals, Foreign Languages, in the promotion of the program; he has produced many foreign language culture films and radio programs; and speaking in the interest of foreign languages, he has appeared innumerable times on radio and television. His office maintains a lending service of films and filmstrips that are too expensive for individual school purchase. The Bureau polls each department annually and studies the status of foreign languages in each school. Information is gathered about textbooks in current use, newly designed courses, experimental projects, and so on. This information is then disseminated to all schools. His office serves as a model for the potential impact of a specialized foreign language office in a large city school system.

Serves as model

The public at large

Involving the entire community–reaching out to the public at large–can take the form of community-wide festivals, broadcast commercials, and activities of professional foreign language associations.

Oceanside High School in Long Island, New York, holds an annual Winter Holiday Party in honor of senior citizens, many of whom are natives of other lands and who welcome the opportunity to listen and dance to music reminiscent of the old country and to converse with adults and students in their native German, Italian, Russian, French, or Spanish (Campbell, 9). For National Foreign Language Week the community was again invited to come and bring their own native dishes. Foreign language students reserve this week for the presentation of their best performances.

Translators, Incorporated

Translators, Incorporated is a rather novel venture initiated by the Oceanside Public Schools. All community members with expertise in any foreign language are asked to register with the Oceanside Board of Education and become members of Translators, Incorporated. Translation services are provided to courts, banks, hospitals, students, and others in a wide variety of foreign languages.

Department store mini-courses

A unique project was carried out by students and teachers of several New York City secondary schools under the auspices of the Bureau of Foreign Languages. Capable students were trained in the basic elements of the foreign language lesson. They were given specific models to follow, flash cards, and signs denoting the language they would teach. On Saturday they were escorted to a large department store which had contributed an attractive section of one of its busiest floors to this unusual venture–foreign language minilessons taught by students to department store customers. One foreign language Assistant Principal was on hand to serve as barker. "Step right up, folks, and have a private lesson in the language of your choice. Would you like to study French, German, Russian, Chinese, Hebrew, modern Greek, Italian?" The customers were delighted; the students who participated were thrilled; and their teachers were proud. Several customers thought it should be an on-going project (Lipton, et al., 27).

Maryland Foreign Language Week

The state of Maryland, by proclamation of Governor Mandel, celebrated Foreign Language Week this past April. The event was marked by foreign language festivals, international dinners, participation days, radio announcements, and articles in newspapers. Several Maryland school systems are training students to serve as guides for the Bicentennial (Beusch, 6).

Foreign language associations

The "reaching out" power of foreign language associations is well documented by the recent activities of several notable groups. Hemkes, of North Syracuse, New York, (21) coordinated the efforts of the New York State Association of Foreign Language Teachers (NYSAFLT) Public Relations Committee.

Their activities included the publication of an informative brochure entitled *Public Relations Information Kit* and the creation and wide dissemination of seven 30-second public-service radio announcements. The committee listed all of the radio stations in cities and regions of New York State. Interested NYSAFLT members were each assigned one radio station to contact to arrange for the broadcasting of these announcements. Because all radio stations must, under the provisions of their FCC licenses, devote a portion of their time to public service, this was not an unreasonable request. This continuous broadcast coverage is in full progress. Examples of two of the seven spot announcements follow:

Public Relations Information Kit

Spot radio announcements

> The United States is the world's largest trading nation. We account for 15 percent of all world trade. That means that we are communicating with a lot of other nations—and in most of them English is not the native tongue. There are good jobs for Americans who know other languages and, along with them, an opportunity to contribute to the international understanding that is the only hope we have. A message from the New York State Association of Foreign Language Teachers.
>
> During our nation's bicentennial year, visitors from other lands will flock to our shores. Americans who can communicate with these visitors in their own languages will have opportunities for interesting jobs and rewarding experiences. But most of all, they'll be making friends for America. Brush up on your own second-language skills. You'll have a good time—and you may help *others* to have a good time, too. A message from the New York State Association of Foreign Language Teachers.

Pearl Warner and Constance Giuliano are co-chairing the Foreign Languages in Careers (FLIC) committee of NYSAFLT. This committee is working on career-oriented lesson plans and units, resources for career-oriented programs and texts, classroom materials, work–study opportunities, addresses of sources of employment related to foreign languages, publicity, and Project '76. Project '76 is a program to involve foreign language students in a meaningful way in important bicentennial year activities. A comprehensive careers handbook will be printed and made available through NYSAFLT.

"Foreign Languages in Careers" handbook

The Joint National Committee for Languages, a confederation of national foreign language associations devoted to improving and promoting the teaching and study of foreign languages in America, primarily through the efforts of Zenia Sacks Da Silva, sponsored and distributed recordings of famous personalities expressing their opinions about the importance of foreign language study. These tapes, entitled "What the People Who Know Have To Say about the Importance of Foreign Language Study" (41), are recorded as radio spot announcements, with spots ranging in length from 10 to 50 seconds. Personalities included are Jack Lemmon, Telly Savalas, Kirk Douglas, Liza Minnelli, Peter Falk, Morton Gould, Elaine Malbin, Alexis Smith, Richard Tucker, Ben Grauer. In November 1974 some 500 copies of these tapes were distributed to selected radio stations across the country for public-service use.

Personalities for foreign languages

A second tape, containing the same basic material, but introduced by Jack Lemmon, followed by the other personalities without introductions or closings, is intended for classroom use or incorporation into a PTA presentation to parents or similar community groups. Every foreign language department could benefit from use of one or both of these tapes.

Toward the end of 1974 the Metropolitan New York City Chapter of the American Association of Teachers of French, working with the New York City Bureau of Foreign Languages, conceived an idea for a French Language Week. What transpired after that momentous decision far exceeded expectations. With no working funds allocated to this project, Gladys Lipton, Dorothy Brodin, and the Board of Directors of the chapter went into action and "La Semaine de la langue française" soon became a reality. Schools, libraries, museums, restaurants, radio and television stations, the English and French press, magazines, and movie theaters were contacted. French exhibits, French films, French food fairs, and French festivals were announced. Public schools and colleges engaged in a number of French-related activities. The Bureau of Foreign Languages held four contests in the public schools. A leading cinema theater provided free admission to students for the film *L'Enfant sauvage*. Newspapers announced the forthcoming event. Abraham

La Semaine de la langue française

Beame, Mayor of New York, agreed to inaugurate French Language Week (February 28–March 8, 1975) at official ceremonies at City Hall. The government of France agreed to send Yves Milhoud, the President of the Council of Paris (a post similar to that of Mayor), to present a medal to Mayor Beame from the people of Paris in honor of French Language Week. Activities included the AATF Gala, a full day of speeches, ceremonies, and a banquet luncheon. The committee secured the full cooperation of Pierre Tabatoni, French Cultural Counselor and Permanent Representative of French Universities in the United States and of the various French services in New York. The Services Culturels printed and distributed thousands of informative leaflets. The Canadian Consulate donated prizes and colorful literature. Hundreds of buttons, posters, and bumper stickers were distributed with the inscription: "Say It In French," announcing French Language Week. French families in New York welcomed students into their homes for an evening or a weekend. French Language Week was truly an unforgettable "happening" that will have lasting impact on French studies in the City of New York.

Solutions to diverse problems

Gaston Jones (23), Chairman of the Committee for the Advancement of Foreign Languages, Alabama Association of Foreign Language Teachers, solicited and received statements in support of foreign language study from Nelson A. Rockefeller and Edward M. Kennedy.

Nelson A. Rockefeller

> As a child I learned to speak French. As a young man I learned to speak Spanish. Few learning experiences have been more rewarding in my life than this.
>
> The tourist who speaks a foreign language has a distinct advantage in learning a foreign culture and customs and in making friends, which, after all, is the main reason we travel.
>
> The businessman who speaks a foreign language goes abroad with a decided edge over his competitors.
>
> Students who master foreign languages open challenging and exciting career opportunities for themselves.
>
> When people cannot converse in the same language, a curtain hangs between them. But when we master another's language, then that curtain lifts and genuine understanding begins. (Rockefeller).

Edward M. Kennedy

> I feel our primary aim is to achieve peace in the world, and I believe that this battle for humanity can be won. Our young people have made it clear that they accept that challenge, as they have done so often by their work in the Peace Corps, for example. Nothing could more capture this spirit than if the young generation continues to take for themselves the task of assisting or at least understanding other peoples of the world, as well as their own. Having at their command the skills to employ those wonders, such as the knowledge of a foreign language, history, and culture, this generation could well redeem its manifest idealism by continuing to help and understand other human beings throughout the world.
>
> If those now bound down by poverty could use their talents and historic cultural abilities to the fullest, they could make this world infinitely richer and more exciting for all of us. The study of foreign language will go a long way towards helping young people make a contribution to this end. And for that reason, I urge young people to master a foreign language (Kennedy).

Evaluating our impact on the public

Changing situation

Public attitude

In the past, many parents were psychologically committed to foreign language programs for their youngsters because they considered foreign languages to be an elitist area to which only the very best students were welcomed. Today, however, the situation has changed. Due to factors entirely beyond our control, interest in the study of foreign languages has waned considerably. As a result of wars, economic problems, and strained relationships between the United States and foreign countries, the public attitude towards foreign languages has become one of indifference and, at times, even negativism.

The new student

Furthermore, the student of the 1970s has changed considerably in his attitude toward education in general. He is mainly interested in pursuing the fastest road that will lead him to what he considers to be the "real world." Unwilling to devote long hours to study and practice, he considers the learning of a foreign language to be an unattainable goal that would, at best, require much more of his time and effort than he is willing to give.

We were made painfully aware of a loss of educational support when colleges and universities throughout the nation lowered and even dropped foreign language entrance requirements. This resulted in an almost immediate reduction in the number of students enrolled in foreign language courses at all levels.

We shall not be able to evaluate our future impact on the public until sufficient time has elapsed to permit every school district in every city of our nation to make a sincere commitment to the promotion of the study of foreign languages by engaging in the kinds of public relations activities described in this chapter.

Summary and recommendations for the teacher

Eighty-five percent of the people of the world speak (as their native language) a language other than English. It would seem therefore that an expansion of the teaching of foreign languages is little short of a national necessity. We must not only develop well-trained and well-informed citizens of America, but capable and enlightened citizens of the world!

How, then, can the average teacher reach out and face the problems we have been encountering in our profession?

1 If a general lack of interest in foreign languages seems to surround you, *behave as if you are completely unaware of this lack* by talking about foreign languages and foreign language affairs to colleagues, parents, and members of the community at every opportunity.

2 The guidance counselors are very much aware of the general apathy toward foreign languages and subsequently do not promote the subject. Continue to supply them with the latest information about foreign language requirements for special majors in college as well as up-to-date career information.

3 School administrators are frequently involved in budget cuts and problems of loss of teaching positions. Share the same information mentioned above with the principal and the assistant principal in charge of guidance. Meet as often as possible with the principal to solve foreign language

problems and to propose ways of economizing on teacher time. For example, when prevented from offering less popular languages due to low registration, establish a multilingual class. When registration builds, it can be divided into regular single language classes.

4 If you are faced with the problem of mounting student apathy, provide the students with a constant flow of information about language study. Maintain exciting curricular programs in all classes. Make use of media and audiovisual materials.

5 If you are upset by a change in foreign language requirements at nearby colleges and universities, meet with committees of professors to discuss the situation and plan ways to expand foreign language programs. They will be eager to cooperate. Provide training grounds for student teachers, student observers, and participants.

6 Follow the example of all the enthusiastic educators whose activities were presented in this chapter and *reach out* to promote your program.

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Free to become: Preservice education

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The future of foreign language teaching in the United States depends, in large measure, on the preservice preparation of skilled, understanding, and committed individuals who are "free to become" effective teachers. Implicit in "free to become" is the assumption that the present and future are inextricably related: Present decisions determine future realities, just as future goals shape present actions. Optimistic projections for the future that disregard the urgencies of the present are a waste of time. Conversely, the limitation of perspective to that which is currently possible denies the impulse toward growth and constructive change.

Freedom: A frame of mind

Freedom: a cliché?

As the Bicentennial of our country approaches, the concept of freedom may be turning into just one more of the clichés that typify so much of American life. The urgency of the late 1960s for individual rights seems to be retreating in the face of neotraditionalism and conservatism, especially in the schools (Peterson, 110). Distrust of government, fear of fast-rising inflation, widespread unemployment, and public acceptance of the "failure and guilt complex" (Wattenburg, 144) characterize the national mood. In education great anxieties have been cre-

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ated by reduced budgets, cutbacks in personnel, and elimination of programs. As Drummond (38) says, "Faith is hard to come by in a period of rapid change" (p. 293). Friedenburg (49) notes that in a time of crisis innovations in the school decline because "the central function is to preserve itself and the jobs and perquisites of its staff" (p. 38).

The context of freedom

Therefore, freedom must be considered in the context of current social, political, and economic realities. This freedom does not depend on expensive new programs requiring personnel, resources, and heavy funding. Rather, it is what Dewey (37) called the only enduring freedom—the freedom of intelligence, of observation, and of judgment:

> Freedom from restriction, the negative side, is to be prized only as a means to a freedom which is a power; power to frame purposes, to judge wisely, to evaluate desires by the consequences which will result from acting upon them, power to select and order means to carry chosen ends into operation (p. 63).

Inherent in freedom are two complementary states: release from certain constraints and acceptance of responsibility for individual actions. Thus freedom is essentially a frame of mind that manifests itself in affirmation through action by individuals who believe in their capacity to make a difference.

The need to recognize and cultivate this freedom has recently been acknowledged by foreign language educators. In analyzing change in the profession, Rivers (120) notes three changing relations:

Changing relations

1 *Teacher-student* relations are changing from the traditional teacher-directed situation to one of teacher-student interaction with shared decision-making.
2 *School and community* are no longer separate entities with the student moving out of one and into the other.
3 *Foreign language programs and other subject areas* can no longer operate in the same institution in hermetic juxtaposition (pp. 1–3).

Rivers also identifies five changing directions:

Changing directions

1 The educational emphasis is moving *from the mechanistic to the humanistic.*
2 Foreign language teaching is moving *from an elitist to a comprehensive view of its task.*
3 Interest in language is now turning increasingly *from the languages of far-away places to languages at home.*
4 The profession is moving rapidly *from orthodoxy to heterodoxy.*
5 Innovation in language teaching is becoming a movement *from the base to the apex* (pp. 4–6).

The common denominator of the trends Rivers identifies is a freeing of the individual from traditional, hierarchical, and discipline-oriented constraints to a position characterized by personal commitment and responsibility.

Jakobovits (69) describes a recurring malaise of foreign language teachers which he calls the "battered language teacher (BALT) syndrome." It is "characterized by the chronic and constant alternation between . . . self elevation to instructional omnipotence . . . and infantile helplessness" (p. 117). In proposing a "new consciousness based on premises of freedom rather than intellectual servitude" (p. 125), he vigorously contends that foreign language teachers must regain the "freedom to teach, freedom from the shackles of educational slogans, freedom from the tyranny of irrelevant expertise, freedom to feel the responsibility that goes with professional integrity" (p. 126). This responsibility includes the creation of an instructional atmosphere where students can assume their responsibility to learn. Acknowledging that few teachers are economically or psychologically secure enough to act upon these freedoms, he implies that preservice and inservice teacher training must help the individual develop the necessary self-confidence and belief in freedom of choice.

A new consciousness

"Freedom to teach"

Becoming: A lifelong process

The tendency to formulate educational beliefs in *either/or* dichotomies was acknowledged by Dewey (37). Just as freedom in education is not an either/or proposition, so the preservice/inservice periods are not separate divisions but rather *phases* along the continuum of becoming a teacher. Implicit in the literature of 1974 is the need for commitment to lifelong learning and continued growth through experience. Denemark and Espinoza (36) state that "it is quite clear that any program of preservice teacher education, however long, is only the beginning of a process of professional training that must continue through the career life of a teacher" (p. 197). Combs et al. (25) speak of "beginning a teacher" (p. 144) in preservice programs, and Rivers (120) reminds us that "all true education is beginnings" (p. 3). If preservice programs are to provide the beginnings, however, there must be some assurance that provisions have been made for continuing the education of the teacher. The necessity for continuity and interaction at all levels and in all dimensions cannot be overstressed. As we consider the various aspects of the preservice programs, we note many opportunities and some cases of close cooperation. The fact that more instances are not reported is an acknowledgment of how slowly change actually occurs. Despite Cousins' observation that "it has been more than 100 years since 1940," (in Frymier, 52, p. 7), Koerner (79) contends that "change at glacial speed is what happens in teacher education" (p. 100). Acceleration of this rate of change is essential to ensure the future of effective foreign language programs in the nation's schools and colleges.

Lifelong learning

Continuity and interaction

Rate of change

It is encouraging that some foreign language teacher educators are attempting to respond to the new realities described by DeLorenzo (34) and the new goals proposed by Wolfe and Smith (152) in previous ACTFL Reviews. The steps that have been taken by some must be analyzed, adapted, and amplified by all those concerned with preparing teachers. The purpose of this chapter is to examine recent developments and to suggest means to promote competence and flexibility in preservice training. The chapter focuses on five issues that the profession faces as it seeks to prepare qualified candidates:

Issues in teacher education

1 The redefinition of the role of the foreign language teacher in a superindustrial society beset with social, political, and economic problems of overwhelming seriousness
2 The selection of candidates who possess personal characteristics and professional skills that stimulate student learning

3 The identification of the requisite knowledge, skills, and understandings for successful foreign language teaching
4 The development of procedures and programs to achieve the commitment and competence in the areas identified above
5 The expansion of "professional awareness and cooperation" in foreign language teacher education (98, p. 10)

Process and products

As each issue is discussed, we must keep in mind that education, unlike industry, is a profession in which results are not always precisely predetermined nor immediately discernible (Rivers, 119). Preservice programs cannot be designed to turn out finished products. They can, however, help individuals to realize that the process of becoming a teacher is a personal one based on self-awareness, self-confidence, and commitment to lifelong learning.

Redefining the role of the foreign language teacher

Roles and goals

A pluralistic society

The multifaceted role of the teacher in the American school system is largely determined by society's expectations of what schooling will do for its children. Frymier (52) has identified three objectives that particularize the processes and products of the classroom: the transmission of knowledge, the socialization of the child, and the growth of the individual. In the 1970s educators, responding to events and pressures outside of the schools, are accenting the third objective, "focus on the learner" (Gattegno, 54; Oller and Richards, 104). Knowledge is multiplying so rapidly that one half of what a person learns in school is no longer valid at middle age, and three fourths of all people employed by industry 12 years from now will be producing goods not yet imagined (Corrigan, 27). What matters is not knowledge *per se* but how to assimilate new information and to act upon it. Likewise, as Americans begin to acknowledge the pluralistic nature of their society in which blacks, women, and ethnic and religious minorities actively reject the melting pot theory, acculturation in the schools must give way to a more humanistic individualistic approach (Della Dora and House, 32; Grittner, 59). Foreign language teachers, by nature of their commitment to opening doors to new languages and cultures, are in a unique position to contribute to this individual growth in a pluralistic society. However, if these phrases are to become more than fashionable slogans that pervade the educational establishment, our teacher-training programs must accept Werdell's (146) challenge to develop "future-oriented self-directed learners" (p. 286) who know how to create their own roles. These roles may be fashioned in the more traditional generalist category of foreign language teaching or in more specialized areas that have been recently recognized.

"Future-oriented" teachers

Foreign language generalists

Designers of teacher-education programs have identified at least four interrelated roles that foreign language generalists must assume:

1 The "designer and manager of instruction" (Gagné, 53) who utilizes the "self-as-instrument" (Combs et al., 25) to promote meaningful classroom activity and interaction, and acts as a "catalyst of learning" (Allen, 3)
2 The "rationally autonomous individual" (Frymier, 52) who has accepted the responsibility of decision-making, the "basic skill in teaching" (Shavelson, 128)
3 The perpetual "co-learner" (Grittner, 59) whose attitudes toward students, curriculum, and methodology are characterized by a "FL-X-ibility" (Tenney, 141) that facilitates the solving of problems for which one was not trained (Rivers, 120)
4 The "agent of crosscultural understanding" (Andersson, 4) who "develops connectors to practical reality" (Goddu, 56) from classroom to community

These roles determine the basic professional education of the teacher and presuppose an adequate level of competency in the foreign language and culture.

Foreign language specialists

In addition to the generalist roles for foreign language teachers, there is a need for specialists trained to work in bilingual programs, Foreign Languages in the Elementary School (FLES), urban schools, community/junior colleges, and undergraduate/

Reaching out

graduate programs in universities. The extent of this need and the nature of specialized training are discussed later in this chapter.

Inadequacy of preservice training

In many cases foreign language teacher-training programs have not adequately prepared preservice candidates to assume these generalist and specialist roles. Rivers (120) cites two reasons for the inadequacy of preservice training: lack of flexibility and innovation on the part of the instructors in the foreign language courses and low priority in faculty assignments in both the foreign language and education departments. She identifies qualities and qualifications for teacher trainers that are similar to the above role definition. To develop these capabilities and to keep up with a rapidly changing situation, she suggests close association with an ongoing teaching program; a newsletter to disseminate information concerning trends, publications, and experimentation; and expanded training for teacher educators, with frequent reexamination of the nature of this training.

Educating teacher educators

The current state of the education of teacher educators is analyzed in depth in the reports of an Ohio State University colloqium (Cruickshank, 30); there is general agreement among the contributors that "renewal, rejuvenation, and reform" (p. 150) are necessary in graduate programs if change is to occur in undergraduate preservice programs. Program proposals stress personal characteristics of commitment, flexibility, and sensitivity; curricular designs that emphasize training in theoretical research applied to practical experiences; and new partnerships across traditional discipline, institutional, and community boundaries.

The similarity of program goals for the education of preservice candidates and teacher educators can serve as a unifying principle to improve foreign language teaching at all levels. In like manner, the interrelationship of *roles* and *goals* provides direction for individual and program development.

Selecting the candidates

The caliber of newly certified teachers depends on the judicious selection of preservice candidates. At present, according to Haberman (62), "admission to a teacher education program invariably leads to graduation and certification" (p. 12). Because of recent shifts in the balance of supply and demand, the profession can afford to be more selective at the preservice level. At the same time, however, efforts to recruit highly qualified potential teachers must not be diminished (Nostrand, 100). Even the best foreign language teacher education programs cannot prepare students to assume the roles identified earlier if entrance standards are low.

Increased selectivity

Supply and demand

The current employment situation can be viewed from three perspectives which affect selection procedures in foreign language teacher education programs.

The realistic perception of the job market is bleak. Fiscal analyses, demographic studies, and reports of school board decisions reflect concern with the highest unemployment and inflation rates since the 1930s. Gordon (57) cites Bureau of Labor Standards' estimates that project a 2 percent increase in demand for elementary and secondary teachers between 1970 and 1980 as compared to the 33⅓ percent increase of the 1960–70 period (p. 64). The Comptroller General in his Report to the Congress in 1972 notes that there were 2.3 million applications for 179,000 vacancies in that year (139). In 1973–74, enrollment in elementary and secondary schools decreased by 400,000 and the demand for teachers concomitantly dropped from 220,000 to 175,000 (Elam, 43).

Employment statistics

A more humanistic perception focuses on needs rather than statistics. Corrigan (26) maintains that the number of teachers available was equal to the number of vacancies in September 1973. Furthermore he suggests that rather than a teacher surplus, we are experiencing an "educational deficit" in which the real needs of children, especially bilingual and minority-culture children are being neglected. He attributes this deficit to an inadequate supply of qualified personnel with diverse talents to serve these needs. In addition, he is concerned about "denying entry to bright people who want to contribute their talents to a life of human service" (p. 198). Bullard (19) sees the declining birthrate as an opportunity to improve educational services by reducing class size and improving student-teacher-parent relationships.

Children's needs

Haberman (62) proposes a third perspective. He rejects the realist position that encourages schools to remain as they are, thereby placing the responsibility of making all the necessary adjustments (cutbacks) on the schools of education and their clientele. Likewise, he considers the "should-be approach," in which the schools of education propose expansion through increased personnel and services in the public schools, to be equally unacceptable. Dismissing these either/or stances as "simplistic," he maintains that the question is really one of *selecting* the very best people for teacher education programs, regardless of current trends. Because at least 100,000 graduates of these programs will be employed annually (p. vii), better methods must be developed for the selection of prospective teachers.

Selection is the issue

All three perspectives must be considered. To concentrate efforts initially in areas where the maximum impact is possible seems expedient, however. Thus, improving selection procedures and gradually reducing the "educational deficit" are preferable to despair over unstable economic conditions.

Criteria for selection

Haberman (62) identified the following criteria for selecting candidates as reported by colleges and universities: college grades, English proficiency, speech proficiency, academic references, direct experience with children and youth, references, direct interview, physical examination, "Why I want to teach" statements, and personality examination/attitude tests (p. 14). He questions the validity of these criteria and maintains that, in actual practice, the profession has chosen not to be guided by them. To improve the selection process, he proposes:

Guidelines for improved selection

1. Admission to professional education is a professional decision, not a student right.
2. Selection criteria derive from program goals and the capabilities needed to achieve these goals.
3. External selection must complement self-selection.
4. Professional experts involved in selection should include more than college faculty.
5. College screening devices must be replaced by professional selection criteria.
6. Selection is a process, not an event.
7. Admission quotas are a function of faculty and clerical resources.

8 Selection must assess the potential of candidates to function as continuous learners.
9 Selection must include procedures for selecting adults as well as college youth.
10 More rigid adherence to existing criteria will not improve selection.
11 All program changes made in the future should take account of their impact on selection (pp. 17–20).

Berwald (14) recently surveyed foreign language teacher trainers to determine how students are selected for admission to preservice programs. He sought answers to the following questions:

1 How does one qualify for your undergraduate Methods Course?
2 Does your school or department offer any courses or experiences prior to the methods course that help you determine a student's suitabilities for teaching?
3 How do you convince your mediocre and poor methods students not to student teach? (p. 3).

FL selection procedures

The most frequent responses to the question of qualifying factors were cumulative grade-point averages and the results of a standardization examination to determine foreign language fluency. Pre-methods-course experiences mentioned often were optional field experiences in secondary schools or university language courses. The crucial issue, however, is embodied in the third question which concerns the problem of "deselection." The two most frequent responses were that no one was denied the opportunity to teach, and mediocre students were discouraged from, but not denied, the opportunity for student teaching. There was a general feeling that students should be given every opportunity and experience to prepare to make the decision themselves. Thus self-selection, rather than "deselection," was the dominant pattern.

Progressive selection

Clearly the issue is one that has not yet been resolved. A viable solution is the use of Haberman's (62) Guideline 6 ("selection is a process, not an event") at several points in the student's career to stop the continuous progress of the mediocre candidate whose chances of getting a job are minimal and whose potential for improvement is negligible. Admission to the program cannot mean automatic certification three or four years later. Conversely, opportunities for growth and the recognition that change does occur in individuals must exist to allow entry of late-bloomers.

Another important aspect of the selection issue is the effect of decreased enrollments in foreign language teacher education programs on the faculty currently employed. Savignon (in Berwald, 14) cites the dilemma faced by the profession when the "job market is shrinking, but university administrators are asking us to justify our programs by showing steady, if not increasing enrollments" (p. 2). The elimination of jobs and programs is a matter of professional as well as personal concern. Greater selectivity must be accompanied by a concomitant effort by the entire profession to promote the humanistic and practical values of foreign language learning. Likewise, present faculties must recognize the need for personal flexibility and program development in heretofore unexplored areas.

Identifying program content

Debate over the identification of the knowledge, skills, and understandings to be included in the preservice program is taking place against the backdrop of two influential movements: Competency-Based (or Performance-Based) Teacher Education and the Humanizing Movement. What foreign language education becomes in the last quarter of this century depends to a considerable degree on how the profession deals with these issues.

CBTE and the Humanizing Movement

Competency-based teacher education

In the broad field of teacher education, CBTE continues to be a central concern. The extensive literature includes special issues of *Phi Delta Kappan* (January 1974), the *Journal of Teacher Education* (Fall 1973), and *Educational Leadership* (January 1974).

Defining CBTE

The search for concise operational definitions of terms and procedures is of primary importance. In its final monograph the Committee on Performance Based Teacher Education of the

American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education (1) reviewed the progress made since Elam's (42) initial report in 1971 and presented 21 recommendations for improvements in practice. The committee's definition of CBTE—"The application of a formal system for designing and managing instruction to the task of educating teachers for American schools" (p. 28)—rests on a "deceptively simple formula . . . careful definition of performance goals in assessable terms and guidance of instruction by evaluation of learner performance" (p. 8). Of special interest is the committee's warning against tendencies that jeopardize realization of the potential of the movement. They cite moving too quickly on too large a scale, adopting too eclectic an approach or restricting application to limited aspects of teacher training.

In a survey of the literature of CBTE in which 119 works were reviewed, Engel (44) makes the following generalizations:

1 Teacher education programs should be individualized and modularized with feedback loops and program alternatives.
2 Program emphasis should be on exit rather than entry behaviors.
3 Internships are among the most important features of CBTE.
4 Teacher education programs should incorporate student participation in decision-making.
5 Teacher education programs must be based on specific behavioral objectives (p. 44).

In observing that the majority of the work done consists of opinion, discussion, and description, he concludes:

Lack of research

> It's rather discouraging to find major teacher education programs being planned and developed on the bases of the performance based model without either the supporting experimental research data which would indicate the validity of such an approach or the provision to collect the necessary data to validate the PBTE approach (p. 44).

In spite of the lack of research evidence supporting the effectiveness of CBTE, several states have moved toward mandating programs. Schmeider (126) summarizes the current status, major developmental activities, and unique features of programs in *Profile of the States in Competency-Based Education*. He reports that at least 30 states are considering or have already passed legislation mandating some form of CBTE.

State mandates

Proponents of CBTE stress relevance and performance accountability. Gentry and Johnson (55) claim its value lies in "making visible what is being done *by* faculty and *to* students" (p. 12) but point out that simply converting course outlines to performance objectives is a misinterpretation of CBTE. Joyce et al. (76) stress the need to define the role conception of the teacher and the instructional strategies used to educate that teacher. Program objectives and methods to achieve them are derived from those role conceptions.

Critics of the movement (Combs et al., 25; Kliebard, 77; Stephens, 135) most frequently cite the paucity of scientific proof of the relation between demonstrated teacher competency and student achievement documented by Rosenshine (121). The legality of a state-mandated instructional system is questioned by some (Houston and Howsam, 67; Sandoz, 124). Others point out the synergistic nature of teaching: The whole of effective performance is more than the aggregate of competencies in isolation (Lindsey, 82; Schmeider, 126).

Interest in the competency-based movement in the broad field of teacher education is paralleled by activity in the specialized area of foreign language teacher education.

FL CBTE

Foreign language CBTE. The current movement to define competencies in foreign language teacher education is not a new development. Freeman's (47) statement in 1941 in "What Constitutes a Well-trained Modern Language Teacher," the 1955 MLA Conference on the Preparation of Secondary School Teachers (90), and the 1966 *MLA Guidelines for Teacher Education Programs in Modern Foreign Languages* (60) are indicators of the profession's concern about teacher preparation in the past three decades. Nevertheless, the negligible impact of these efforts on actual programs was cited by Paquette (108) in 1972:

Negligible impact

> Our failure to significantly affect the preparation of future members of the profession, or to significantly improve the competence of those already in it, makes it amply clear that

> in its most vital aspect our reform movement has been nothing more than a paper tiger (p. 7).

At the 1974 Northeast Conference Workshop on Training for Student Centered Language Programs, Baslaw et al. (9) reaffirmed the usefulness of the *Guidelines*. They acknowledged that modifications were necessary in view of recent reappraisals of goals and techniques. In recognition of the potential for increased accountability and in response to legislative mandates, foreign language teacher education programs are being redesigned at the state and institution levels. The adaption of the *Guidelines* to local needs and resources is a process that requires definition of standards, relevance of activities, and interaction between school and university personnel.

Updating the 1966 **Guidelines**

As a theoretical model, Fryer (50) proposes the application of a systems approach (Banathy and Lange, 7) to the preparation of Spanish teachers for elementary and secondary schools. The process involves formulation of objectives at the national and local level, analysis of learning tasks for potential Spanish specialists, design of systems based on local conditions, implementation of programs, and feedback for restructuring the program. He cites four advantages to the student and the program:

Systems approach

> 1 Designation of planned outcomes which implies greater success for persons completing the program
> 2 Greater relevance of training because of direct bearing on future employment
> 3 High student motivation due to opportunity for choice of objectives and means
> 4 Greater student involvement in and responsibility for achieving competence (p. 409)

In citing Lessinger's definition of teaching as a "performing art" (in Fryer, 50, p. 409), he implies the dual nature of the preparation process: professional training and liberal studies.

One example of a cooperative effort by secondary schools, colleges, and universities to define competencies is the *Guidelines for Teacher Preparation in Modern Foreign Languages* (61) prepared by a committee of the Massachusetts Foreign

Cooperative efforts

Language Association in conjunction with the Massachusetts State Board of Education. Competencies, expressed in terms of "minimal" and "preferred" performance, are grouped into three sections which deal with the student and the college or university; the student and the schools; and the role and qualifications of the school, college, or university faculty. These *Guidelines* reflect a move toward a more eclectic and cooperative approach to language teaching on the state level.

Minimal competencies

Minimal Competencies for the Preparation of Foreign Language Teachers (89), prepared by the New York State Foreign Language Teachers Association, is a similar document that includes description of competencies, indicators (performance conditions), and assessment procedures. The areas included are practical command of one language, language analysis, culture, teaching/learning process, and professional commitment. In addition, the report recommends that a variety of agencies cooperate to define generic competencies deemed essential to educators of all disciplines.

Newly defined competencies

Papalia (106) describes a competency-based and field-centered program in French at the State University of New York at Buffalo. Competencies are divided into three categories:

1 Content area (practical command, language analysis, culture)
2 Learning/teaching process (curricular objectives, instructional modes, verbal and nonverbal communication, evaluation, media, teaching of the four basic skills and culture, and building an instructional climate and environment)
3 Teacher-school-community-profession (working relationships; student records; communication with parents, professional organizations; and professional evaluations)

The inclusion of several competencies (especially in the second category of the learning/teaching process) that were not part of the 1966 *MLA Guidelines* makes this a particularly comprehensive system. A unique feature is the designation of evaluators (a "team of experts" using observational instruments, checklists, and subjective judgment).

Smith (132) reports that students in the preservice program at Westchester (Pennsylvania) State College complete a tri-level program of "major with advanced standing," "certified for student teaching," and "student teaching." In conjunction with the demonstration of competencies in language, literature, and methodology, the development of commitment to foreign language teaching through professional involvement is emphasized.

Process guides

The competency instruments reviewed are all similar; differences appear more in degree of specificity than in variance of content. Emphasis is generally placed on skill in the use of the language, knowledge of the cultural heritage, competence in choosing and using techniques to teach and evaluate the four skills, and some areas of specialized training such as individualizing. These instruments are valuable and effective when they are considered as process guides as well as product descriptors. Continuous reassessment of goals and activities is necessary to avoid fossilization or triviality. The value of these designs probably lies more in responsible implementation than in precise stipulation.

Clearinghouse needed

A clearinghouse for reviewing the CBTE movement in foreign language teacher education is needed. A national study committee sponsored by ACTFL or the Joint National Committee for Languages would stimulate a sharing of ideas and materials and prevent unnecesssary duplication. The report of such a committee would provide direction to both the institutions that prepare teachers and the agencies that certify them; and it could have a positive effect on mediocre programs now staffed by faculty whose orientation is more academic than professional. In addition, such a report would identify and promote programs in specific institutions that concentrate on preparing foreign language teachers for the specialized roles identified earlier.

The Humanizing Movement

Humanizing teacher education

The Humanizing Movement in foreign language teacher education shares the stage with CBTE in the continuing discussion of knowledge, skills, and understandings. Influenced by the work of third-force psychologists (Snygg, 134) in perception, cognitive organization, and human needs theory, proponents of the Humanizing Movement are primarily concerned with what the individual *is* rather than with the tasks he or she performs as a teacher. The movement is characterized by the premise that teaching and learning are intensely personal activities which are more influenced by attitudinal and motivational forces than by application of certain techniques and methods.

In the second edition of *The Professional Education of Teachers* published in 1974, Combs et al. (25) take issue with CBTE's emphasis on definable measurable demonstration of cognitive knowledge and psychomotor skills to the exclusion of the less tangible perceptions and understandings in the affective domain. They argue persuasively that in the "helping professions," the most important outcomes of a teacher education program are "the discovery of personal meaning" (p. 31) and the use of the "self as instrument" (p. 8):

Personal discovery

> Becoming a teacher is not a matter of learning how to teach. It is a question of personal discovery, of learning how to use one's self well. No teacher's college can make a teacher. The best it can do is provide students with problems, resources, information and opportunities to explore what they mean. Beyond that the student is his own pilot and must find his own best ways of working. He must make a commitment to the process of learning (p. 8).

The gradual development of this orientation toward teaching poses problems in personal becoming which only the individual can resolve through experiences in a variety of situations provided by the preparing institutions.

Effective teachers

Research at The Florida State University has shown that effective teachers are characterized not by particular methods, demonstrated competencies, or personality traits, but rather by the following conditions:

1 Knowledge of the work and the subject taught
2 Sensitivity to people, capacity for empathy
3 Accurate and appropriate beliefs about people and their behavior
4 Positive beliefs about self
5 Appropriate and congruent beliefs about purposes, the goals of society, schools, the classroom, and one's own goals in teaching
6 The personal discovery of one's own appropriate and authentic ways of teaching (Wass and Combs, 143, p. 124)

Busby et al. (20) report that the Florida Childhood Education Program is producing a more flexible self-confident type of teacher. Results of several studies cited by Purkey (116) indicate that effective teachers can be distinguished from ineffective teachers on the basis of positive and accepting attitudes toward themselves and their students. These findings reinforce the tendency of the self-fulfilling prophecy demonstrated by Rosenthal and Jacobson in 1968 (122). In their study they found that the teacher's expectation of individual pupil achievement significantly influences the child's self-image and subsequent performance.

Self-fulfilling prophecy

In foreign language education the memory of the impersonality and teacher directedness of many of the techniques used in audiolingual classrooms in the 1960s has spurred an interest in the Humanizing Movement. The shift of emphasis from the development of linguistic competence to communicative competence and cultural awareness requires a sharper focus on the interaction of teacher-learner goals and strategies. Grittner (58) concludes that, of the three "bandwagons" of the "sophisticated barbarians" who "peddle easy solutions for complex problems," the "modern humanistic" one is more promising than the accountability or career education models (p. 246). He defines "modern humanistic" as "human centered; that is, the ultimate goals of education reside in the intellectual and aesthetic growth of the student in tandem with the teacher and in the context of a worthwhile curriculum" (p. 247).

Focus on interaction

Similarly, the MLA Steering Committee, which drafted "A National Foreign Language Program for the 1970s" (98), emphasized the centrality of the "humanistic rationale" in language teaching:

The "humanistic rationale"

> This "humanistic rationale" differs from previous philosophical goals not simply in kind but in degree of importance, for it carries the rewards of self-enrichment, both for the individual and society. Diversity in approach as well as in recognition of a variety of needs and interests is surely essential in the language programs of the 1970s, but the emphasis on humanistic values encompasses all diversity and provides the catalyst for new directions (p. 9).

Synthesizing CBTE and the Humanizing Movement

Proponents of both CBTE and the Humanizing Movement have tended to polarize opinion into an "either/or" dichotomy. Recently, however, signs of a move toward a "both/and" position are evident. Responses from teacher educators to a questionnaire used in gathering information for this chapter indicated a growing recognition of the dual nature of teacher training. Ultimately, the real question is not whether both should be included but rather how much emphasis and time each should receive.

Strong (137) is hopeful "that a kind of working truce– or even unholy alliance–may eventually be achieved between those of a behaviorist and 'systems' persuasion and those who feel that the most important answers lie within ourselves, not within management schedules, technology, and a well-defined universe of behavioral competencies" (p. 241). He outlines 10 propositions that emphasize the development of professional commitment through personal choice of tested curriculum modules. Thus, the profession determines the standards of performance but the individual creates the meaningful experience.

The "both/and" approach

"FL-X-ibility"

The "both/and" approach to synthesizing CBTE and the Humanizing Movement suggests that knowledge, skills, and perhaps even understandings may be specified in performance terms if the educational environment is characterized by "FL-X-ibility," humaneness, and respect for personal decisions. With this desirable synthesis as a guideline, we can turn to a consideration of *how* foreign language teachers are being prepared in preservice programs.

Procedures to develop commitment and competency

The context of experience as well as the content of that experience determines what an individual is and what he becomes. With the increasing emphasis in the 1950s and 1960s on the development of specific techniques for a single-focused approach to foreign language teaching, the *person* was often lost in the *product* description. In the 1970s that *person* is regaining wholeness and identity in the *process* orientation. Freeman's (47) statement is as valid today as when it appeared in 1942:

The most important on my list of ideas for the language

> teacher is also the most intangible, for it concerns not what he has studied or done, but what he is. . . . He must possess a rich store of mature knowledge, untiring energy and vigor, contagious enthusiasm for his subject and his profession as a teacher, limitless patience, human understanding and sympathy (p. 7).

Conditions for growth

Flanders (45) suggests that the *way* teachers are trained may have more impact on them than *what* is learned in terms of knowledge and skills. Stated simply, the conditions for learning are as important as the outcomes of instruction. Dewey (37) poses a pertinent question: "Does the form of growth create conditions for further growth or does it set up conditions that shut off the person . . . from the occasions, stimuli, and opportunities for continuing growth in new directions?" (p. 36). In terms of our present focus—free to become—do the conditions we arrange in our teacher-education programs provide opportunities for our students to grow in the roles of decision-makers, problem-solvers, group leaders, and effective analyzers of interpersonal transactions? Do these conditions help the preservice candidate grow in self-awareness and self-confidence even before extensive experience in the schools? Do these conditions encourage students to "open the future to question rather than attempt to find answers that close discussion?" (Gattegno, 54, p. 42).

In spite of certain neotraditionalist tendencies noted earlier, there is concern for the individual student. The student-centered classroom, awareness of the cultural plurality of the school, and the focus on learning rather than on teaching require that teacher educators reexamine their own procedures. To perpetuate the platitude "Do as I say, not as I do" is simply to invalidate good intentions or potential effectiveness of resources. Designing the preservice program so that the components serve as models of successful teaching practices is expedient and effective.

Components of the preservice program

The preservice program has traditionally consisted of three components: the general education unit, the specialized academic unit, and the professional education unit. The latter two

Interdepartmental cooperation

areas are of primary concern to the foreign language teacher educator. Unfortunately, lack of communication and coordination between foreign language departments and the department of education has been a perennial problem, according to Eddy (41). Dual appointments in foreign language and education departments, the increased number of specialists in foreign language teacher education, and the introspective activity in many foreign language departments due to the elimination of the language requirement are beginning to have a beneficial effect on teacher-training programs.

Proficiency in the foreign language

Language competency

Increased competency in the target language is for many foreign language teacher educators the cornerstone of improved teaching in the schools and colleges (Preller, 114; Taylor, 140). The development of communicative competence and cultural awareness in students is stimulated by teachers who are themselves proficient in the subject matter. In addition, that the linguistically competent nonnative teacher has a more positive self-image seems self-evident. According to studies cited by Purkey (116, p. 257), this positive self-image substantially increases effectiveness in the classroom.

More course options

Within foreign language departments the need to diversify course offerings is recognized. In 1971 Crosbie et al. (28) advocated the development of more course options and pointed out that teaching candidates need different skills than do majors entering other fields, although many programs made no such distinction. Inservice teachers, especially recent graduates, often report the need for more practice in speaking skills, knowledge of grammar, and information about culture. Two new courses at the University of Minnesota are designed to meet these needs. In "French, Spanish, German Conversation for Teachers," students research topics of contemporary teen culture, learn to lead discussions in the target language, and practice several approaches to using supplemental materials in their classrooms (Jorstad, 74). Especially helpful for designing such a course is Jorstad's *Newspapers and Magazines in the Second-Language Classroom* (73). She describes a wide variety of techniques for using media in language practice, in cultural activities, and as motivational devices. In a second course, "Crosscultural Understanding: Human Relations and Human Relations Curriculum Development for Pre- and Inservice Teachers of Second Languages and Cultures," participants contrast foreign cultures and American subcultures. They create learning materials and evaluation procedures for crosscultural analysis in their classrooms (Jorstad, 74).

The emphasis on culture is also reflected in a redesigned Spanish major at the University of Pittsburgh, described by Frey (48). The undergraduate degree in Language and Culture and the graduate degree in Language and Language Learning, with a strong concentration in applied linguistics, methodology, and contemporary society, provide students with advantageous marketable skills.

Innovative foreign study

Experience in the target country is invaluable, but current constraints may preclude this possibility for many students. The Centre Oregon d'Etudes Françaises at the University of Poitiers, France, is an innovative integrated study program sponsored by the Oregon State System of Higher Education (Cadart-Ricard, 22). Because students are fully subsidized by the French government, costs are reduced substantially. All foreign students enroll initially in the *Institut de Français* which prepares them to take any regularly offered course in the university during the second semester. They complete their year's experience with an independent study project that requires close contact with the French people of the area. At the University of Chicago a newly designed five-quarter MAT program in German combines three quarters of on-campus study (courses in language, methodology, and education) with a two-quarter total immersion experience at the University of Freiberg (Northcutt, 99). In addition to the triple focus on language, culture, and communication, the program stresses personal enthusiasm and commitment to continued professional growth.

Foreign language teacher educators must convince their colleagues in the academic departments that belletristic programs that emphasize literature must be supplemented—and not only for prospective teachers. Content courses in the target language that relate to other disciplines are one example of supplementation. Equally important is the realization that effective techniques of teaching foreign languages are as important at the college and advanced levels as they are in the secondary schools.

Professional preparation

The multistep approach

In the area of professional education, the multistep approach to teacher education is effecting increased interaction between academic departments, schools of education, and the public schools. The practice of involving the student in a classroom experience early in his academic career coincides with a restructuring of the entire professional sequence in several colleges and universities. Previously, under the "block system," courses in education and professional preparation were concentrated in one or two semesters during the senior year. This separation of liberal and professional studies is described by Borrowman (18) as the "purist approach" to teacher preparation. However, the delay of training until the senior year is hazardous for students who discover they cannot or do not want to teach. Mullen (96) recommends that multistep programs such as the Iowa UPSTEP model for Science Teacher Education (Lunetta, 83) be implemented in foreign language preservice education. The program combines liberal and professional studies and permits entry and exit at several points in the four-year sequence. Early experiences in real classrooms are an important feature.

Early experiences

Generally, early experiences are part of an educational psychology or "exploring teaching" course such as those at the University of Maryland, the University of Texas at Austin, Colorado State University, and the University of New Hampshire (DeLorenzo, 33; Michel, 88; Preller, 114; Wing, 148). These early contacts provide a taste of the realities, pressures, and constraints of the teacher's role before the student is required to make a major commitment to teaching. In many cases, however, there is little or no formal contact between the foreign language personnel and the department of education until the student has successfully completed the exploratory course and has been accepted into the professional program.

In some places the early experience is an integral part of a foreign language methods course. At The Ohio State University, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Hunter College, and the University of South Carolina—to name only a few institutions—students are given responsibilities in the first-year college language courses or in secondary schools of the area (Allen, 2; Berwald, 15; Dye, 39; Fryer and Dannerbeck, 51).

Wolfe (149) emphasizes the central role of the cooperating

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"Parateaching"

teacher in these field experiences which are a vital prerequisite to student teaching. He also gives suggestions for setting up a program. Shinall and Shinall (129) describe a "parateaching" experience at the University of Illinois, Urbana, in which sophomores spend 15 hours in the classroom, participate in four or five on-campus seminar meetings, and prepare a bibliography of resources of foreign language methodology.

Unique early experience

A unique solution to the problem of small public school language programs that cannot provide early experience facilities is reported by Jenks (71) at The Florida State University. Under his direction 10 Spanish majors designed and team-taught an eight-week, 16-hour elementary course to 14 professors, staff members, and advanced graduate students in the Center for Educational Technology. The learners in the course described the teaching as "superior" and said that the course fulfilled their expectations. Describing their experience as the "highlight of their on-campus education," the teachers considered it a major preparation for student teaching.

Foreign language methods courses

Integrating language and pedagogy

The foreign language methods course is a central component of the preservice program. Here students learn to apply the knowledge and skills acquired in language and education courses to the specific task of teaching the foreign language. Creation of an integrative atmosphere is the primary responsibility of the methods instructor. This person must demonstrate competency in the foreign language, understanding of pedagogical theory and practice, and the capacity to function as a coordinator of complementary yet competing interests.

Expectations for the methods course differ according to the level of experience and responsibility of the participants. One's perception of the purpose of the course is influenced by one's role in the process. Students who have not participated in an early field experience frequently expect to "learn how to teach" —that is to be *told* what to do and how to do it. Students who have completed a successful field experience have some idea of the questions to ask and the problems to be solved; they generally expect to find answers with which to make a satisfying transition to student teaching. The methodology professor, increasingly an academic foreign language specialist, recognizes the responsibility to combine theory and practice in promoting acquisition of knowledge, skills development, and personal growth in a wide spectrum of areas. Often the student teacher, looking back on the recently completed methods course, questions the relevancy of the content and experiences, especially in regard to relationships with the cooperating teacher. Frequently, the cooperating teacher views the university methods instructor as an impractical idealist who knows little about the daily reality in the schools. Finally, the beginning inservice teacher, facing a multitude of frustrations, laments the fact that the answers given in the methods course do not always apply to the real classroom.

Responsibilities

Discussion and reconciliation of these perspectives are the direct responsibility of the methods instructor but entail the participation of all those involved in teacher education. Increased cooperative efforts to identify objectives, arrange school/university experiences, and evaluate results are needed. In addition, administrators must recognize the need for financial remuneration, staff development credit, and academic recognition that such activity merits.

Three basic assumptions influence the planning and implementation of the effective methods course in the 1970s. They are the recognition of the eclectic nature of the foreign language teaching/learning process, the necessity to correlate theory and practice in a framework of experiential learning, and the impossibility of dealing adequately with all the issues in one methods course.

End of the monolithic approach

Toward eclecticism. An awareness of the cultural plurality of American society is replacing the melting-pot theory of acculturation. Concurrently, several influential foreign language educators note the end of a monolithic approach to foreign language teaching (Grittner, 59; Jakobovits and Gordon, 70; Rivers, 119). The idea that one approach is effective for all students or all teachers has been proven illusory. Furthermore, the ill will of frustrated learners who did not experience success in a single-focused approach has adversely affected language study in this country.

Faddism

Already endangered language programs cannot, however, survive unlimited freedom as we search for new ways to attract and keep students. Our tendency toward faddism is widely documented (Grittner, 58; Jakobovits and Gordon, 70). Often we have thrown out the old in favor of new techniques or approaches whose efficacy is not adequately proven. Smith (132) warns against proving that "innovation is the product of desperation" and urges the profession to remain strong enough to effect positive changes. It is encouraging that the movement toward a humanized CBTE in foreign languages is an attempt to define standards and simultaneously preserve opportunities for imaginative individual growth. Eclecticism, like freedom, however, is not to be interpreted as license. Inherent in the professional preparation of the foreign language teacher is the responsibility to set goals and choose appropriate techniques by which to achieve them in a specific situation. Thus, deliberate eclecticism in the microcosm of the methods course prepares the way for effective eclecticism in the macrocosm of the foreign language classroom.

Experiential learning

Theory into practice. Concern for correlating theory and practice in a framework of experiential learning is not new. The history of the normal school and teachers college movement in the United States can be viewed in terms of a conflict for preeminence between acquisition of knowledge and development of skills through practice (Borrowman, 18). In his discussion of traditional and progressive education, Dewey (37) stresses the utilization of physical and social surroundings "so as to extract from them all they have to contribute to building up experiences that are worthwhile" (p. 40).

Defining theory

According to Cruickshank (29), theory depends on principles or "important statements of proper generality for which there is some good amount of scientific evidence" (Berelson and Steiner, 12, p. 5). These statements, which help us to describe, explain, and understand behavior, may even provide direction for changing the behavior toward a desired goal. In second language learning the search for these statements has been a concern of the structural linguists and more recently of the transformational grammarians. Their concern has not resulted in a theory of language and verbal behavior that can be applied to the teaching/learning situation. In a similar fashion, research on the relationship of teacher behavior and student achievement has not resulted in any definitive statements that can be applied universally (Rosenshine, 121). Jakobovits and Gordon

(70) summarize the skeptic's view *vis-à-vis* this lack of theoretical evidence when they state: "That people can learn is an undeniable fact of life; that people can teach is an interesting hypothesis, but an uncertain one" (p. 22).

Even though no theoretical system has been developed, some theoretical statements are useful in the training of foreign language teachers. Cruickshank (29) contends that knowledge of empirical generalizations concerning perception, learning, thinking, and motivation such as those collected by Berelson and Steiner (12) can be of great practical worth in promoting learning in the classroom. He outlines a strategy for training teachers to identify problems and solve them through application of theory. In applying similar procedures to foreign language teaching, Hancock (65), has used simulation techniques to train preservice candidates to define and resolve problems. Murphy (97) describes a mini-course in problem-solving for teaching assistants that was developed by the Foreign Language Innovative Curriculum Study Group in Ann Arbor, Michigan. The student learns interviewing techniques and memo-writing skills that lead to identification and solution of problems.

Problem solving

Reactions to research

Gattegno (54) notes the tendency among teachers to be impressed by research but not influenced by it. Furthermore, theory and basic research are often considered authoritative and prescriptive by teachers. Thelen (142) observes, however, "that the meanings of research findings are in the experience that produced them, not in their predictive or authoritative scientific truth" (p. 210). Jakobovits (69) contends that "basic research," which deals with laws and principles in the abstract, based on observations made under controlled situations, is not relevant to the solution of teaching problems. He argues for new procedures wherein "practice" is defined as instructional performance in a particular setting. "Applied research" is defined as the analysis of that performance which leads to specific decision making and action by the instigator of the investigation—the classroom teacher.

The approaches proposed by Cruickshank (29) and Jakobovits (69) are not mutually exclusive. Encouraging prospective teachers to make use of the empirical research findings while concurrently developing their skills and confidence in analyzing problems and prescribing remedial measures for specific situations is a justifiable goal of the methods course. Thus, theory into practice becomes a personal process of discovering methods for achieving goals specific to the context in which the becoming teachers find themselves.

Correlating theory and practic

Probst (115) outlines an "activity-referenced" methods course in which the correlation of theory and practice is basic to a three-phase microteaching program. He quotes Denemark on theory:

> Contact with reality without the perspective of theory fosters adjustment to what *is* rather than stimulating realization of what *could be*. Beginning teachers must be able to survive in the classroom as it is, but if education is to improve—a matter we judge to be imperative—they must also have the vision of its potentialities and the skills to alter its course (in Probst, 115, p. 71).

General methods course

Language-specific course

The "time bind." Myriad topics, all necessary in developing the complex repertoire of techniques used by effective foreign language teachers, compete for time in the traditional methods course. The "time bind" arises in trying to provide adequate instruction and practice for all of these essential topics. There seem to be two resolutions of this problem, one administrative and the other attitudinal. Rivers (120) advocates the implementation of a dual system of a general methods course before student teaching and a language-specific methods course during the practicum. The first course would deal with theories of language learning, student attitudes and needs, traditional and experimental procedures, and areas of controversy. In the second course students would practice techniques, design activities, develop evaluation procedures, and learn how to motivate through day-to-day operations. Some universities do offer two methods courses (Massachusetts at Amherst, Minnesota, Ohio State, and South Carolina) though the division is often on an elementary/intermediate-advanced level basis rather than the theoretical/practical focus.

The attitudinal resolution of the "time bind" is suggested by the title of this chapter—free to become—that is, freedom from the chronological limitations of the methods course. The course becomes part of an integrated process that extends over a period

The continuum concept

of several years along a continuum of preservice and inservice training. When difficulties arise in the coordination of activities and experiences, the same problem-solving techniques and decision-making strategies taught in the methods courses must be applied by coordinators.

Standardization of content

The implementation of this type of approach can be an awesome task for those foreign language teacher educators whose academic preparation is primarily literary. To aid these colleagues, Øksenholt (103) presents a "skeletal delineation" (p. 31) of the methods course at Eastern Montana College. He calls for increased attention to standardization of academic course content as a means to improve teacher-education programs.

Procedures. The impact of these assumptions can be seen in certain procedures currently employed by successful methods instructors to impart knowledge related to language acquisition, program development, and resource availability; to provide for the acquisition of skills in directing learning activities and preparing instruction and evaluation materials; and to increase awareness and understanding of the human interaction that occurs in foreign language classrooms. These procedures can be reviewed conveniently within the following categories: demonstrations, microteaching, interaction, individualizing, and humanizing.

Video tape modeling

Demonstrations. Demonstration of techniques by the methods instructor is part of every experiential-based methods course. Mackey's (84) prediction that video tape recording would become one of the chief instruments in the training of foreign language teachers is still to be realized. In their review of the literature Zangerle and Christensen (153) found support for the contention that greater behavioral change occurs as a result of perceptual modeling (live or on video tapes) than with symbol modeling consisting of written descriptions of desired behavior. They describe procedures for involving classroom teachers in the production of tapes. A program developed by DeLorenzo (35), which emphasizes selected performance skills (teaching vocabulary, dialogues, structure drills, grammar generalizations and reading), includes four demonstrations involving different techniques for each of the five areas. Dye's (40) compilation of a bibliography of video tape materials available at Hunter College is a step toward the establishment of libraries of materials as called for by Rivers (120) and Baslaw et al. (9). In stressing that the demonstrations are not intended to be models but rather to serve as points of departure for discussion and illustration of alternative teaching strategies, Dye emphasizes the decision-making role of the teacher. The development of libraries by foreign language teacher educators and regional or state foreign language associations provides another opportunity for cooperation between preservice and inservice institutions.

Microteaching. Microteaching, pioneered by Politzer (113) at Stanford and now widely used, is highly developed at the University of Minnesota (Jorstad, 74). Seventy-five demonstrations by a team of specialists prepare students to peer-teach microlessons of 2 to 20 minutes during the first of two methods courses. During the fall of 1973 Clifford et al. (24) studied student perception of the effectiveness of microteaching as a preparation for student teaching. Using self-report and peer evaluations of microteachers at several stages in the methods course and the subsequent student-teaching period, they found that: 1) peer-teaching experiences were deemed worthwhile, 2) teaching was considered more valuable than observing, and 3) more new ideas were generated in single-language groups than in mixed language groups.

Effectiveness of microteachin

Interaction in the classroom. An outgrowth of the Humanizing Movement is a concern for understanding the human interaction that occurs in the foreign language classroom. Several systems have been developed or proposed to deal with various aspects of interaction. Foreign Language Interaction Analysis, developed by Moskowitz (93) in the late 1960s, provides information on the amount and type of teacher and student talk. "Don't Smile Until Christmas" (Moskowitz, 92), a programmed course, consisting of a color filmstrip, accompanying tape, and manuals in several languages, can be used in the methods course to teach the Moskowitz system. Studies indicate that teachers are able to make positive changes in attitudes and behavior after training (Moskowitz et al., 95).

Transactional analysis

Transactional Analysis, Berne's (13) system for examining social intercourse, deals with behavior patterns that are associated with a system of feelings within the individual. Transactions consist of stimuli and responses that occur when two or more people acknowledge each others' presence by speaking or acting. The transaction is either complementary or crossed, depending upon the ego states of the individuals involved. In complementary transactions communication proceeds smoothly and indefinitely, while in crossed transactions communication is interrupted and social difficulties ensue. Stevick (136) sees an unexamined potential in adapting Berne's system to the foreign language classroom. He describes a teaching figure who establishes an underlying interpersonal order through which students can relate positively to someone in terms of the foreign language classroom. Six statements describe the teaching figure:

The teaching figure

1 This figure is strong and knows something I want to know, can give me access to something I want, can control my actions, and can assure me a congenial atmosphere in which to work.
2 This figure is on my side.
3 This figure is at peace within itself.
4 This figure does not conflict with the most powerful influences in my life.
5 This figure is willing to pay attention to me, no matter what I do.
6 This figure confirms a desired self-image I have of myself (pp. 380 ff).

Stevick contends that foreign language teachers have attempted to establish a surface order by manipulating procedures and content based on past experience and on developments in linguistics, psychology, and technology; the primary task, however, is to establish order on the deeper levels of interpersonal relationships.

Citing the platitude "To teach is to tell; to learn is to listen," Jakobovits and Gordon (70) propose a new way of examining classroom behavior that focuses on the types of talk occurring in the classroom. They state that analysis of talk reveals transactions between individuals that are dependent on certain shared types of knowledge and inferential reasoning behaviors. Therefore, the teacher's responsibility is to engineer or set up the conditions for authentic instructional transactions within the

Transactional engineering

context of the target language. The premises of their new educational psycholinguistic paradigm are:

1 Teaching as conversation
2 Conversation as transactions
3 Transactions as moves and reply moves
4 Transactional moves as generated by a register
5 Register as a subsystem of rules appropriate for specialized functions
7 Analysis of the instructional register through observation of ongoing classroom activities (p. 250)

They stress the need for teachers and students to take each other seriously in authentic transactions based on trust rather than on manipulation. The authors report that in Transactional Engineering Workshops and one-semester undergraduate courses, foreign language teachers have developed competence in analyzing structural components of natural conversations in order to engineer more effective instructional transactions in the target language. While it is too early to assess the impact of this work on the profession and especially on the preparation of teachers, it merits consideration as a further attempt to clarify the process and context of interpersonal relations.

Student-centered classrooms

Individualizing. Although interaction analysis, transactional analysis, and transactional engineering differ in methodology, they are all related to the concern for student-centered classrooms and the trend toward individualizing instruction. There is general agreement that the incorporation of individualizing techniques in the methods course is both essential and efficient (Baslaw et al., 9). Procedures most commonly reported include:

1 Use of programmed materials such as learning activity packets and video tape demonstrations (DeLorenzo, 35; Dye, 39)
2 Student selection of mini-units to supplement basic core content (Lafayette, 80)
3 Student preparation and presentation of demonstrations (Moskowitz, 94; Smith, 131)
4 Flexible scheduling of peer microteaching in mixed and specific language groups (Jorstad, 75)
5 Contracting (Phillips, 111)

Fryer and Dannerbeck (51) use the individualized elementary Spanish courses at the University of South Carolina as a demonstration class. Prospective Spanish and French teachers observe the conversation classes, the large-group presentations, and activities in the self-pacing room. In addition, they are expected to pass a unit examination. Plans call for a junior-year methods course in which Spanish majors participate in the planning and instruction of the conversation classes.

Demonstration class

Cruickshank (31) observes that "teachers in training are given such a very heavy dose of the concept of individualizing that they never quite get it out of their systems" (p. 131). To translate enthusiasm into rational action, he has designed a game that helps teachers to clarify their beliefs about individualizing and work them out in actual situations. The playing of this game at a combined preservice/inservice workshop or an association meeting could be a refreshing way to involve more teachers in the process of individualizing.

Clarifying beliefs on individualizing

Humanizing. The influence of recent inservice activity on humanizing foreign language education is being felt in some methods courses. In conjunction with Hiram College (Ohio), Wattenmaker (145) involves preservice students in training in reflective listening, nonjudgmental behavior, group dynamics, and "real communication" based on techniques described in *Real Communication in Foreign Language* (Wilson and Wattenmaker, 147). Elements of Morel's (91) inservice workshop in "human dynamics" could be adapted for the methods class. In the area of values clarification, Wolfe and Howe (151) present 10 techniques teachers can use to sensitize students through the foreign language to their own values, beliefs, and lifestyles. They warn against using these techniques as games or "time killers," especially in classrooms where the trust level is low. Baslaw's *Bibliographical Suggestions for Further Exploration into Humanizing Foreign Language Education* (8) is a valuable resource for teacher educators.

Values clarification

Joiner (72) emphasizes the importance of encouraging student participation through supportive correcting procedures. In *Training Prospective Teachers in the Correction of Student Errors* she outlines a partially self-instructional programmed series of units for training preservice teachers to recognize student errors and to make decisions on how to deal with them positively. By means of video tape incidents and simulation exercises, the prospective teachers learn strategies that encourage rather than discourage learners. Papalia (107) also emphasizes a humanistic approach to structuring the classroom environment through an "integrated model of teaching" that was developed and implemented in a preservice methods course at the State University of New York at Buffalo. In essence, the model recognizes that students prefer a variety of types of learning environments (competitive, cooperative, and individualized) and benefit from large-group, small-group, and individual training experiences.

Learning environments

In orchestrating the methods course the foreign language teacher educator coordinates, integrates, and evaluates the various themes and sections toward culmination in the student teaching experience.

Student teaching

The student teaching paradox

Teachers consistently rate student teaching as the most important experience in the professional education sequence (Peck and Tucker, 109). Studies also show that the majority of student teachers exhibit an increase in authoritarian attitudes and a decrease in effective teaching behavior upon completion of the practicum (p. 969). The apparent paradox is not difficult to explain. Student teaching is real in a way that student-centered methods classes, problem-solving exercises, and microteaching can never be. During this experience the preservice candidate's communicative competence, instructional facility, and interpersonal awareness are put to test. Friedenburg (49) contends that because the purpose of student teaching is to socialize the prospective teacher into the teaching role as it now exists, student teaching perpetuates the prevalent weaknesses of the present system. Oestrich (102) notes the lack of documented research on field experiences and criticizes unsystematic program development, *ad hoc* observations, and lack of mutual reinforcement by the college supervisor and cooperating teacher. As a result, he says, the student teacher completes the experience with "no real confidence in either the theoretical approach which has been taught or the practical approach which was used" (p. 337).

Perpetuating weaknesses

Student teaching in foreign languages takes place within the traditional format of shared responsibility between schools and teacher-training institutions as well as in teaching/learning centers, where the primary focus is on on-site training, supervision, and evaluation by resident supervisors.

Selecting the cooperating teacher

The traditional format. In the traditional format a critical factor is the selection of the cooperating teacher. Despite the fact that the cooperating teacher is a primary influence on the student teacher's development (Wolfe, 149), language specialists often do not participate in placement decision making. A recently inaugurated program at the University of New Hampshire is designed to correct that situation. The coordinator of foreign language teacher education regularly visits schools to observe classes and to meet with teachers, guidance counselors, and principals to discuss the language program, articulation, and recent developments in the profession (Wing, 148). As more inservice teachers and state professional organizations assist in the preparation and continued development of new teachers, they also can be expected to play a more active role in identifying effective cooperating teachers.

Supervision and evaluation

A second major factor in the traditional format is the supervision and evaluation of the student teacher by the cooperating teacher and the university supervisor. Guidelines for cooperating teachers are extremely useful, especially if they are prepared by a coalition of cooperating teachers, foreign language supervisors, and university faculty, as was done at SUNY-Albany (138). This is particularly necessary when the university language specialist makes only two or three visits to each student teacher.

Two models

Two ways of providing more contact with university supervisors were reported. Both achieved positive results as judged by feedback from students and observers. At the Ohio State University and the University of Massachusetts at Amherst student teachers are observed weekly by experienced teachers who are graduate-degree candidates in the foreign language education program (Allen, 2; Berwald, 15). At the University of Wisconsin at Madison, Knop (78) designed a different type of program in response to recent cutbacks in funding due to the energy crisis. It consists of:

1 Saturday morning meetings of the student teachers, interns, and the university coordinator
2 Two in-school observations by the coordinator
3 Three written observations by the cooperating teacher during weeks the coordinator does not observe
4 A videotape or audiotape of a class chosen by the student teacher from several made in class
5 An evaluation form prepared by the student teacher and completed by the secondary students at the end of the practicum
6 A self-evaluation written by the student teacher that includes the grade expected, the progress made, and plans for future development

Multiple evaluation criteria

Evaluating with VTR

The use of videotapes as an evaluation technique was studied by Bailey (6) at The Florida State University in conjunction with the training of teaching assistants in college foreign language classes. Four behaviors selected for observation by experienced raters were: number of teacher questions and requests, number of student responses, amount of teacher praise, and teacher use of English (p. 42). No change in behavior was observed when feedback consisted of daily conferences with the supervisor based on notes from the observations. When videotapes were used, the data showed more positive results. The TAs analyzed their own behavior, watched model tapes, and were able to be more objective in their discussions with the supervisor. To reduce anxiety in such situations, Smith (133) proposes guidelines that define the rights of TAs and faculty members with regard to a critique and future use of the tapes.

Bailey (5) suggests the inclusion of videotape microteaching segments, such as those done in student teaching, in a credential profile presented by the candidate to a prospective employer.

Wolfe (150) advocates self-evaluation by the student teacher as a means for facilitating growth, especially with respect to the use of the "self-as-instrument" concept and the development of more sensitive methods of perceiving. He suggests that the student teacher consider the following questions:

1 How did the students react to me? Did I appear hostile, friendly, distant?

2 How did my students react to the lesson or method I used?
3 Did the students know in advance what they were expected to know at the end of the lesson?
4 Did I have any assumptions about how certain students would react to the presentation that would affect the success of the lesson?
5 Did the students show interest in the lesson? If yes, was it real or phony? Did I use any attention-getting devices?
6 Did I try to find out if anything was learned from the lesson? Orally or in writing? (p. 115).

Evaluation and individualization

Innovations such as individualizing require new techniques for supervision and evaluation. Berwald (16) proposes use of criteria based on inquiry and discussion with the student teacher. Areas to be examined include:

1 Materials prepared by the student teacher (performance objectives, record-keeping systems, weekly log of worksheets, quizzes, tests)
2 Observation of the teaching act (techniques of presenting and practicing material, analysis of student/teacher rapport and effective use of audiovisual materials)
3 A three-way postclass discussion involving student teacher, cooperating teacher, and university supervisor

Rights and responsibilities

Increased emphasis on the individuality of the student teacher has resulted in two developments related to our focus on freedom to become. The Massachusetts Teachers Association Student Education Association Committee and the Student National Education Association-Massachusetts compiled what can be called a "bill of rights" for student teachers, cooperating teachers, and college supervisors. In *Memorandum of Understanding Relative to Student Teaching Partnerships* (86) 13 basic assumptions are delineated that pertain to student teachers' needs, consensus on philosophy and methods, acknowledgment of personality factors, discrimination in placement, standards of professional practice, and criteria for evaluation. Specific responsibilities for each of the three parties are listed. Such a document and the cooperation required to produce it represent a significant amount of meaningful dialogue and purposeful action by the three groups involved in teacher preparation.

Recognizing that student teachers need a great deal of "stroking," foreign language teacher educators in Oklahoma organize an annual conference for student teachers (Ford, 46). One basic premise of the meeting is that "professionalism means more than being a dues-paying member; it implies participation in decision making that will ultimately affect the future of foreign language education in Oklahoma and the nation" (Dunham in Ford, p. 250). The day-long conference consists of demonstrations by master teachers, materials displays, movies, and a Student Teacher of the Year Award.

Teaching/learning centers. An innovative alternative to the traditional student-teaching format is the teaching or learning center located in the public school. Schmeider and Yarger (127) call the teaching center "the hottest education concept on the scene today" (p. 5). They note that in less than five years it has become the locus for the training and improvement of all education personnel. They cite the National Teacher Center Survey in which 600 centers were identified and 4,500 school sites mentioned.

FL teaching centers

Although the majority of these centers train prospective elementary teachers or secondary teachers in English, math, and science, two foreign language programs are in operation. Hahn (64) reports that preservice candidates in the Nebraska NU-STEP program complete three "spirals" of learning modules within a public school learning center. The staff includes subject-area specialists and educational psychology personnel from the university as well as classroom teachers from the school. Observations, discussions, and microteaching take place alternately on the school and university campuses. Opportunities exist for involvement with ESL and bilingual programs as well as with individualizing and humanizing instruction. Continuous evaluation and modification since the inception of the program in 1968 have resulted in a "unique and stimulating program of teacher preparation."

Inservice training for CTs

DeLorenzo (33) reports that foreign language preservice candidates are working in public school teaching centers organized by the University of Maryland. To realize the desirable potential of such centers he notes a need for more training of experienced teachers to assume the responsible role of cooperating teachers.

While it is difficult to predict how extensive the movement toward teaching centers will become, at least one teacher educator states firmly that teacher education should remain in the universities. Ryan (123) contends that basing teacher education in the schools would increase the already "terrific burden" those schools presently bear. It would also cut off teachers and teacher educators from institutions devoted to the development and dissemination of knowledge–in effect, from a major source of change. Teacher education would thereby be condemned to maintain the status quo. Here is another case where the "both/and" approach (university and school as the setting for teacher education programs) is preferable to the "either/or" dichotomy.

Specialized training

In addition to the professional education components discussed above, some foreign language teachers need training in specialized areas to assume leadership positions in a variety of roles.

Acute lack of bilingual teachers

Bilingual teachers. Nearly one fourth of the children in the United States daily face teachers who cannot speak the children's first language (Olson, 105). There is an acute lack of trained bilingual teachers to staff these classrooms. Teacher-training programs were cited as the most pressing need by both the First International Bilingual-Bicultural Conference (Byrd, 21) and *A National Foreign Language Program for the 1970s* (98). The growing trend is away from ESL programs, which emphasize the acquisition of English skills, toward bilingual programs designed both to preserve linguistic and cultural heritages and to develop skills in English (Pitman, 112). The implications are important for teacher trainers. While ESL programs are often associated with English departments, bilingual/bicultural programs involve foreign language departments.

ESL or bilingual programs?

Two characteristics of the *ad hoc* development of bilingual education should be noted as a preface to a consideration of competencies and training programs. First, most bilingual education is designed to train secondary school teachers. Cooperation between elementary and foreign language specialists, previously limited to the relatively few FLES programs, must be expanded to meet this pressing need. Second, programs have developed as inservice projects that respond to local needs rather than as formal university programs (Byrd, 21). Such grassroots specificity of site is strongly advocated by program administrators, though they stress the need for university participation and preservice training in methods that can be generalized for future relevancy (Meyers, 87; Pitman, 112; Quesada, 117).

On-site training

The Center for Applied Linguistics (23) has issued guidelines for the design and content of academic programs to train bilingual/bicultural teachers. Stressing on-site performance-based training, they list the following areas of competency: language proficiency, knowledge of linguistics, culture, instructional methods, curriculum utilization and adaption, assessment, school-community relations, and supervised teaching. There is general agreement that development of cultural awareness ranks equally with linguistic competence in any training program (Andersson, 4; Lewis, 81). Documents such as Rhode Island's *Bilingual Education Resource Guide* (17) are helpful in identifying personnel and programs.

FLES. A second type of specialized program, Foreign Languages in the Elementary Schools, has been especially affected by the economic squeeze. One notable exception is New York City where 24,917 pupils in 212 elementary schools studied French, German, Hebrew, Italian, and Spanish in 1974. According to Benardo and Lipton (10), "the FLES teacher is an elementary school teacher, a teacher of foreign language, an audio-visual specialist, a highly successful public relations person, and an accomplished conductor-actor-director" (p. 2). Brooklyn College and Queens College in New York City and the University of Minnesota are three institutions which offer methods courses in FLES. Topics studied include practicing oral skills, locating materials and community resources, teaching culture, and developing effective community relations. Training often occurs in inservice workshops where certified elementary teachers of varied linguistic backgrounds learn to use FLES techniques in their classrooms.

The FLES teacher

Urban teachers. A third area of specialized training that is closely related to bilingual education and FLES is the preparation of teachers for urban areas. Howe (68) estimates that during the 1970s schools in 50 major cities will enroll more than 50 percent of their pupils from minority groups that include non-English speakers. Haberman and Stinnett (63) predict that

Pupil needs and teachers' jobs

80 percent of the anticipated job openings will be in urban areas where hundreds of dollars are saved by hiring beginning teachers. Foreign language teacher education programs have a responsibility to take advantage of these dual opportunities so that they might help both the students in the schools and their own preservice students who soon will be seeking jobs.

General programs, often affiliated with the Teacher Corps, do exist. At the University of Toledo a federally funded CBTE program for elementary teachers features on-site community-directed training for preservice interns and inservice cooperating teachers (Sikula, 130). A National Institute of Education program in San Antonio, Texas, Cooperative Urban Teacher Education, stresses active involvement in social agencies, a weekend "live-in" with a family on welfare, and in-depth awareness of the community as well as observation and microteaching in a school (Houston, 66). The absence of foreign language specialists in such programs perpetuates the tendency to perceive language study as an elitist discipline; furthermore, the inherent potential of language study to improve communicative skills as well as cultural understanding is ignored.

Defining standards at the college level

College teaching. Traditionally, preparation for college foreign language teaching has consisted of successful completion of the requirements for the Ph.D. in a specific language and especially its literature. The inadequacies of this approach are now generally acknowledged (Baslaw et al., 9; Paquette, 108; Rivers, 120). Eddy (41) observes that the training of foreign language teachers "usually happens more by accident than by design" (p. 32). He has led efforts to define professional standards for college teachers modeled after the 1966 *Guidelines for Teacher Preparation in Modern Foreign Languages* (60). Benseler (11) suggests that the Doctor of Arts in Foreign Languages, originally designed for undergraduate college teachers, be reconsidered as a degree for teachers at all levels. The curriculum would include practical seminars on methodology, provide for development of near-native proficiency in the target language, and emphasize culture and civilization. Requirements for the degree would include completion of the comprehensive examinations for the Ph.D. and a satisfactory score on a national examination similar in scope and difficulty to those required in medicine and law. Such certification by the profes-

The Doctor of Arts in FL

sion would be a prerequisite to teaching foreign languages at any level. His contention that public school teachers would respond affirmatively to this type of program is based on a survey conducted in Idaho and Washington.

Training teaching assistants

The Associate Instructor Teaching Skills Program at Indiana University is a functioning program to train teaching assistants in the teaching of their discipline (Majer, 85). Regular seminars on planning, presentation, practice, and evaluation; videotaping and analysis of classes taught; and mutually satisfying interaction between the trainee and supervisor were instrumental in causing improvement in basic teaching skills.

Training of teaching fellows (assistants) at Harvard includes a five-day orientation session before classes begin, a three-hour methods course, and observation and personal guidance by course chairmen and the Language Coordinator (Rivers, 118).

Junior/community colleges

The preparation of teachers for junior and community colleges is grossly inadequate according to O'Banion (101). Savignon (125) observes that these institutions are primarily people-oriented; community-focused; and service a broad spectrum of cultural, social, and age populations. Their teachers need special training. Accordingly, a special MAT program at the University of Illinois (Urbana) stresses language skills, area studies, and the psychological and social foundations of the junior/community college (Savignon, 125).

Graduates of doctoral programs that provide instruction in pedagogical as well as content areas are better equipped to assume the responsibilities of college foreign language teaching. Because of the influence the college faculty exerts, expansion of such programs is essential to the continued improvement of all foreign language teaching.

The continued development of effective procedures to promote commitment and competence is closely related to the final issue of this chapter—professionalism in foreign language teacher education.

Expanding professional awareness and coordination

Expansion of "professional awareness and coordination" (98, p. 10) is the key to improvement of foreign language teacher education programs. It is part of the larger task, identified in *A National Foreign Language Program for the 1970s* (98), of making further progress toward a national professional identity for all foreign language teachers.

Professionalism in foreign language teacher education means recognizing the characteristics and competencies of teacher educators; assuming responsibility for achieving and maintaining quality control; and improving communication, cooperation, and coordination among teacher trainers.

Characteristics and competencies of teacher educators

Analysis of the literature and responses to the questionnaire concerning teacher education programs reveals an underlying consensus with regard to what a foreign language teacher educator should be and do. These characteristics and competencies can be summarized briefly.

A foreign language teacher educator should:

The FL teacher educator

1 Be fluent in one or more foreign languages, have firsthand knowledge of the c/Culture of the target country, and maintain contact with that c/Culture
2 Practice the "lifelong learning" concept by continued research in educational theory, methods of teaching, and humanistic studies that contribute to an understanding and appreciation of the subject matter and the teaching/learning process
3 Be an active member of the appropriate AAT (American Association of Teachers of French, German, Spanish, etc.) and ACTFL; read and contribute to the professional journals; and organize and participate in professional meetings and workshops
4 Maintain close contact with a language program in a school or college, and continue to develop skills in teaching foreign languages
5 Develop the necessary interpersonal skills to coordinate activities and encourage cooperation among individuals and agencies that represent different languages, levels, and interests.

In essence, the foreign language teacher educator occupies a central position as the liaison between the professional organizations, the state department of education, the local schools, the university department of education, the foreign language departments, and the prospective foreign language teachers. In the liaison role the foreign language teacher educator can coordinate the efforts of all the interested parties to implement important changes in teacher education.

Achieving and maintaining quality control

Control over standards

One of the indexes of a profession is the extent to which it exercises control over the standards for entrance into and continued practice in the profession. The *Program for the 1970s* (98) states the case bluntly: "The responsibility for effective quality control falls squarely on the foreign language teaching profession . . ." (p. 16). Foreign language teacher educators are charged with administering this responsibility but they are not the sole guardians of the gate. The continuum concept of teacher education requires that all foreign language teachers participate in the dual process of improving their own teaching and helping others to be more effective. Furthermore, the profession must realize that control over standards depends on inhouse deliberations that cannot be relegated to other agencies by design or neglect. Failure to assume individual and corporate responsibility will result in decreasing enrollment patterns and performance levels.

Among the activities suggested by the *Program* to improve quality control, the following merit serious consideration:

Suggestions for improvement

1 Updated research on the certification requirements of the various states for elementary and secondary school teachers, including a close examination of performance-based certification and its effects on teacher education curricula
2 Updated research on programs of training and supervision of graduate teaching assistants in college and university foreign language departments
3 Research on the licensing practices of comparable professions: law, medicine, engineering, etc.; following this, conferences of state officials, measurement specialists, school and college administrators
4 National conferences of specialists in the fields of foreign language teacher education, measurement, certification, and teacher training

5 Leadership conferences on the teacher training component of doctoral programs in foreign languages; specialized conferences on the training of teachers of language and literature for junior and community colleges

6 Review of the MLA's Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students; research, technical conferences, and leadership conferences (p. 17).

In addition, the *Program* emphasizes the need for a "unifying agency for the achievement of effective consensus and concerted action" (p. 11). This same need is apparent in the more limited area of foreign language teacher education.

Communicating, cooperating, coordinating

A coordinating mechanism is necessary to improve the already existing communication and cooperation among teacher educators. There are indications that the task is a manageable one. The number of foreign language teacher educators (here defined as the college or university methods instructor/coordinator/supervisor) is limited because there is often only one such person in a college or department. During the past few years there has been an increasing number of specific sessions devoted to teacher training at regional and national meetings and workshops. Teacher trainers who attend these meetings frequently keep in touch to share ideas and proven techniques. In addition, since 1973 *Foreign Language Annals* has devoted a special section to articles of interest to teacher educators. Finally, some regional organizations have been formed. The New England Association of Foreign Language Teacher Trainers (Berwald, 15) is an example of a group that answers the need for dialogue, mutual reinforcement, and action.

Unifying FL teacher educators

The potential for professional affiliation as foreign language teacher educators already exists. Such affiliation would provide cohesiveness and identity for individuals in both the academic and education departments. It would also provide the means to deal with some of the primary issues: a survey of who and where the foreign language teacher educators are, the establishment of a national newsletter to disseminate information, the creation of a clearinghouse to review CBTE, and the coordination of research efforts and conferences such as those suggested in the *Program for the 1970s* (98).

The formation of another autonomous organization seems unnecessary in view of the unification efforts of recent years. Exploration of the possibility of establishing an administrative unit within the framework of existing associations is likely to be more expedient and more effective.

Summary

Freedom and *becoming* are the two lenses through which the individual process of becoming a teacher and the institutional process of developing programs have been examined. Freedom is a frame of mind that requires commitment, responsibility, and belief in one's capacity to change the status quo in foreign language teaching. The individual and the profession must accept the challenge to be *free* and assume the responsibility to *become* if we are to realize the potential of the following germinal developments:

1. The actualization of the continuum concept of preservice and inservice teacher education with special attention to the role and training of the cooperating teacher
2. The selection of preservice candidates who are highly qualified in language skills and endowed with personal characteristics that promote FL-X-ibility
3. The expansion of multistep integrative programs that include early field experiences, an extended stay in the target country, and a dual system of methods courses combining theoretical and experiential training
4. The focusing of research efforts on what actually happens in the classroom as a basis for developing models for promoting student learning and designing strategies for teaching.
5. The implementation of programs to train specialists for bilingual/bicultural, FLES, urban teaching, and college teaching positions
6. The continued development of attitudes and practices that recognize the necessity for responsible decision making, especially with regard to achieving and maintaining high professional standards

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10

A European perspective: The Netherlands

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Editor's Note

Perspective can refer to the capacity to see objects and events in their proper relationships. It may also refer to the unobstructed view one achieves from a distance. "Combining" these two meanings is particularly advantageous in foreign language education. Rapid changes during the past few years make it especially difficult to see components of the profession in proper relationship to the others. In addition, a considerable lack of knowledge about foreign language education exists in countries distant from the United States. Yet, one of the most common ways in which each of us tries to understand better our own little corner of the profession is by comparing it to other situations. We compare our own professional environments and activities to those of colleagues in our own schools, to those of colleagues in nearby schools, and sometimes to those of educators elsewhere in the United States. To provide the perspective that comes from even greater distance, Peter Slagter of the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands was invited to write an essay in which he would attempt to capture the concerns and problems, the mood, and the directions of foreign language education in Holland.

Perspective is an idiosyncratic phenomenon: One person's perspective will be another's distortion. Thus, each reader will find his own meaning in this chapter. It may be a certain comfort in seeing in the Dutch system a problem or trend that has been troublesome in one's own situation. It may be an idea that can be borrowed. It may be a between-the-lines inference about a particular concept or the way Peter Slagter seems to view it—a view that in juxtaposition with one's own gives added meaning. Or it may simply be a *feeling* of understanding and acceptance of one's own professional role—understanding born of another perspective.

G. A. J.

Introduction

The typical reader in the United States would probably assume that foreign language education is flourishing in the Nether-

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Speakers of Dutch

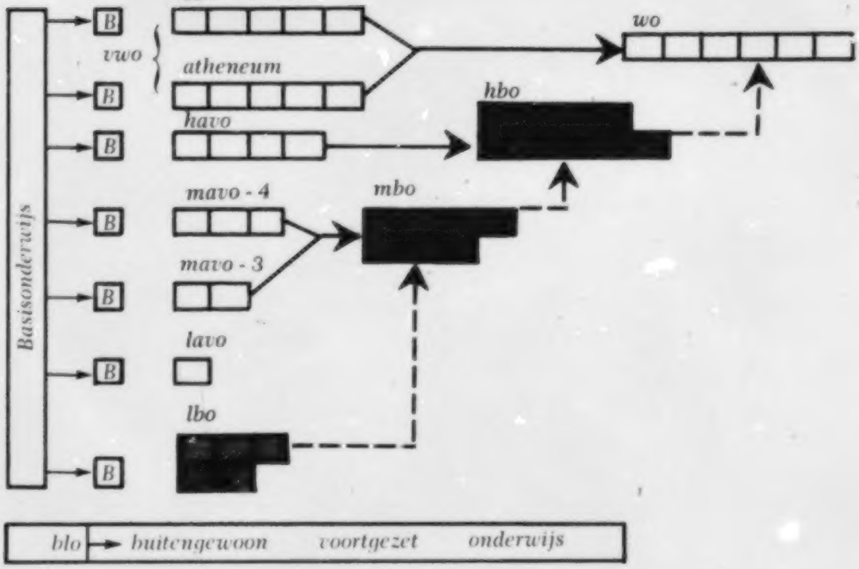
lands. Indeed, a natural need for foreign language education would seem to be created by the size of the country and by the fact that Dutch is spoken by a mere 13 million persons in the country and perhaps six or seven million elsewhere in the world. The need for worldwide communication in our late 20th-century society is well known and would seem to enhance the need for proficiency in many languages within the Dutch populace. Pessimism would seem to be out of place in such an ambiance; however, pessimism appears to be the dominant mood of the profession in Holland. There are general problems that remain perennially without solutions; there are specific problems where several uncertain solutions vie for dominance; and there appears to be a lack of unity or professionalism among foreign language educators. In short, ours seems to be a profession that has not perceived itself as free to act upon its problems nor to develop the natural potential that beckons to it.

The Dutch educational system

Legislating education

To understand any aspect of education in Holland, one must recognize the import and implications of a single piece of legislation (3). On February 29, 1958 Bill Number 5350 was presented to Parliament. It was a bill designed to respond to various needs perceived within the Dutch educational system: 1) The need to create a superstructure that would unify a variety of educational institutions, 2) the need to create new types of schools that respond directly to the expected exigencies of the nation, 3) the necessity of providing opportunities for a more general approach to education, 4) the desire to inhibit the premature selection and rigid tracking of students into lockstep patterns of subject matter that characterized the former educational system.

To attack this last problem, the bill established one-year "bridge classes" that would span the gap between the six years of elementary school and the beginning of higher-level education (see Figure 1). Freedom was to be a fundamental characteristic of the new system. Not only was there to be greater freedom, but also observation, orientation, determination, and advice to students and their parents during the bridge year. Vertical and horizontal "ways in" and "ways out" within the sys-


gymnasium
vwo
atheneum
wo
hbo
havo
mavo - 4
mbo
mavo - 3
lavo
lbo
Basisonderwijs
B
blo
buitengewoon voortgezet onderwijs

BASISONDERWIJS = elementary school

B = bridge class, 1st grade of secondary education

gymnasium and atheneum together form:

vwo = college and university preparatory

havo = higher general education

mavo = intermediate general education

mavo-4 = four-year *mavo* education

mavo-3 = three-year *mavo* education

lavo = lower general education

lbo = lower vocational education

mbo = intermediate vocational education

hbo = higher vocational education

wo = scientific education (university)

blo = extraordinary elementary school (special education)

buitengewoon voortgezet onderwijs = secondary level of *blo* (handicapped students)

Figure 1. Secondary and further education in the Netherlands

tem would permit the student to match his education with his ability and interests, thus reducing student dropouts and enhancing what might be called "cost-benefit ratio" in the United States.

Rigid teaching

Unfortunately, the bridge classes did not achieve their goals. Freedom and flexibility have remained elusive in many respects. Curricular traditions do not die easily, nor does traditional thinking. Levels of intelligence continued to be associated with the various educational "options": higher IQs with *gymnasia* and *athenea*, lower IQs with *havo* and *mavo*. Different languages are associated with the different secondary institutions: Latin has been maintained in the *gymnasium* bridge; English and French in *havo* and *mavo*. The "harmonization" of the bridge year, which would create a single subject-matter combination for all seventh graders so that streaming could start only after seventh grade, is violently opposed by teachers of French who fear diminishing enrollments. An amendment in Parliament has declared French compulsory instead of German, but many students now drop French after one year and revert to German in the second year because German is considered to be easier for Dutchmen. In spite of the proposal to "harmonize" the bridge year and avoid tracking, rigid tracks have been maintained: *Gymnasia* and *athenea*, for example, have their own particular type of bridge class, while *havo* and *mavo* have another. This separation of *gymnasium*, *atheneum*, *havo*, *mavo* and *lbo* as early as the bridge year conserves outdated societal barriers and is antithetical to the expressed purposes of the legislation; it has resulted from essentially political, not educational, compromise.

"Mammoth"

In a highly segmented society, where religious and political lines are the basis for an array of social institutions ranging from trade unions to broadcasting organizations, from schools to associations of bird watchers and chicken breeders, fundamental differences are not easily erased. The goals and practices of religious and public schools, for example, could not be easily unified or blended by an act of Parliament. Critics wasted little time in attacking the proposed reforms, stressing the fact that adequate experimentation had not been conducted before the law was enacted. In fact, one legislator, reacting to the sheer magnitude of the undertaking, labeled the bill "Mammoth" and suggested that its implementation should be restricted to fairy tales. It has been labeled "Mammoth" ever since that day.

The basic conflicts within the system and the society that have prevented successful implementation of the needed reforms have several sources. Language education (and education in general) does not enjoy a secure climate politically. Innovation is differentially received. Broadly speaking, those on the left side of the political spectrum are dissatisfied with the changes brought about by Mammoth, primarily the continuing existence of tracking. At the center and on the right, many people are concerned with a perceived lowering of academic standards and achievement: Further education for the masses with a consequent loss of quality is not satisfactory. Goals have not been achieved, nor do they seem within reach; the difficulty of adopting the concept of a general education without sacrificing the "high standards" of traditional education seems insurmountable.

Climate for language education

Defining and understanding the nature of a general education has also been a problem. Personal development and realization of one's own potential must be fostered; the theory that every person needs a general education and one or more periods of reschooling later in his life seems logical. Modern society is characterized by an increasing variety of professions and vocations that no one can reasonably be expected to have specifically prepared for; a general preparation that fosters the desire to learn throughout life seems most appropriate. But the theory that students will choose to profit from the opportunities provided by a freer more general education has not been borne out by the facts. When rigid subject-matter combinations and their standards were dropped in favor of more varied offerings and more personal choices, the relief that students felt was not translated into a desire to profit from new options; they settled for a new minimum standard. Neither personal involvement in an education of one's own choosing nor awareness of a rationale behind making such choices increased significantly.

Diversity vs. standards

Another apparent conflict resulted from the need to affirm and respect the freedom of individual school boards in implementing their own programs and the necessity of reaching a common standard on the final (graduation) examination. That freedom might lead to diversity was acknowledged, but standards were never to fall below those previously delineated in secondary education for girls (in a type of school that was to be gradually replaced by *havo*). This conflict between the concept of freedom and the concept of standardization or normalization presents another essential threat to reform.

While these problems underlie the expressed dissatisfaction with Mammoth, the bulk of the vocalized criticism is directed against the streaming or tracking of students; the one-year bridge period becomes, therefore, the focus of debate. Currently there is considerable pressure for a "middle school" concept as an extended bridge period for students between 12 and 16 years of age. Selection and determination seem to be facilitated by the longer period. At present the concept is politically attractive, but pedagogy must provide many answers before any implementation is possible. There is a clear danger that the middle school concept may be adopted without a period of adequate planning and experimentation in relevant pedagogical matters.

Comprehensive middle school

The importance of Mammoth lies not so much in its factual content as in the need it generates to rethink education. The realization that problems exist and that answers to those problems must be sought is perhaps the most positive outcome of the legislation.

Freedom vs. standards: An apparent dilemma

Mammoth was one attempt to achieve the goal of enhancing personal development and freedom within the educational system. Freedom is not now a reality; many seek it and fight for it, but few have the vision necessary to attain it. Freedom might lie in the completely new concept of comprehensive education, or it might even be hidden within the structure of the present system. Whichever is the case, to operate from a known basis such as the system outlined by Mammoth seems more practical than to tear down the whole existing structure as the leftist utopianists advocate. My inclination, therefore, is to seek innovation within the present structure.

A dilemma arises, however, when one examines the fate of innovative programs designed to eliminate existing problems. Lockstep procedures, for example, are generally felt to have a devastating effect upon student motivation. They foster an attitude among students that they must work not for human development, but rather to achieve on a standard test.

Breaking the lockstep

Experimentation to do away with lockstep procedures was begun in 1962 at the Roncalli secondary school for girls in Bergen op Zoom; the school developed a system that permitted students to progress gradually at their own pace to final examinations. This attempt to break the rigid time patterns of the lockstep procedure would seem to have yielded valuable information for use in rethinking educational practices. However, this school was not considered qualified for funding under the experimentation act and therefore what it has achieved could not be evaluated officially. Furthermore, self-paced programs such as the Roncalli experiment are generally thought to be impossible to implement in the excessively large bridge classes. In the present framework of a lockstep system with large classes, homogeneity of learning rate would seem to be a necessity. But this goal is not always attainable either. French and mathematics present special problems in terms of student learning rates: Because of the difficulty of these subject areas, a class cannot be kept homogeneous for even one year. Thus the concept of standardization conflicts with the concept of freedom; in actuality, neither goal seems to be attainable at present.

Other dilemmas arise as one examines the problems of examinations, grading, and university entrance requirements. The concept of personal enrichment through free choice of subjects is an ideal that cannot survive in a climate where achievement on standard tests is of paramount importance for a student's future. For example, during the third year of *havo* (roughly 9th grade), the student decides what subject matter he will study for his final examination that will take place at the end of the 11th grade. Ideally his decision takes into account planned further education and his career. But students know only too well that ultimately their grades on a certain cluster of subject matter (generally promoted by the school administration) decide their entrance into a university or the acquisition of a job. Thus, free choice of subject matter seems to exist in name only. Often "enrichment" options are relegated to the final years of secondary education. "Enrichment" via optional subject matter in Grades 4 and 5 of *havo*, for example, is considered a compulsory bore. This is especially true for Spanish, which can be chosen in these grades. Many teachers actually *struggle* to get students even minimally interested. Some students do choose

Elusive freedom

Spanish, but choice is determined for many by the amount of work imposed, not by personal interest. Art and music involve little work; therefore, a Spanish teacher must not only compete for students, but must also do something worthwhile with them in two hours per week. Even natural "hams" have difficulty keeping their students' interest.

Grading

Evaluation of student work in a system with optional choices of subject matter is another problem. At the end of 3 *havo*, for example, should the grades in all subject areas be considered —even those not selected for further study? Should the student graduate on the basis of final examination grades only in the areas he has selected? Should an additional requirement be that the student must average six (on a scale of one to 10) for nonselected subject matter? Or should a student be admitted into 4 *havo* if grades in mathematics and science are failures, but scores on four languages plus history and geography total the required number of points? Failures are not an obstacle to lockstep progression from one class to another, at least not in the abstract.

University lottery

University admission procedures are also complicated. The universal final (graduation) examination traditionally guaranteed university entrance to capable students. A lack of resources and staff at the universities has led to a system where sheer luck determines entrance. In March 1975 Parliament modified a proposal to submit all students to a lottery for many university programs so that a system of "weighted lottery" was adopted: The higher the average grades the better the chances a student has to be admitted. This seems unquestionably the most unfortunate and wasteful flower in our educational gardens. If sheer luck eventually decides entrance, how can a student be expected to work? The decision to use a weighted lottery was political, not pedagogical.

The teacher and the system: Isolation and conflict

Teacher feelings

It is important to keep in mind the aegis of change in Dutch education. Change was first legislated; classroom practice had to follow. Many teachers felt that they had been imposed upon. (Imposition of subject matter and goals that were arrived at in political compromise is rarely a good motivator for either teachers or students.) Some rebelled "on general principles," objecting to anything that came from a committee or government testing service. Some, aware of their own professional shortcoming, feared teaching strategies that were unfamiliar to them.

The new goals were stated in fairly general terms, but information about how to reach the goals in the classroom was not communicated effectively to teachers. Isolation of individual teachers hindered successful implementation of new teaching strategies. The information received was probably overwhelming to many of them who lacked adequate time to read reports and professional journals. Consequently, many were incapable of critically evaluating the "imported ideals." Moreover, the large majority of teachers had not been trained for change in their university preparation or had received only a minimal preparation. Many teachers seem to teach as they were taught in their university courses, their explanations of subject matter echoing the words they heard years earlier.

In these recent years of change many teachers seem to feel trapped in remnants of the past while at the same time being ordered to bring into practice today's ideals (for example, general basic education–skills that will form students into independent and critical persons). "General education" as a concept is as old as Greek civilization, and it has been resurrected periodically throughout history. Today it continues to linger in our minds as a vague ideal–too vague to meet the stipulations of the legislation. Ironically, many solutions that were offered resembled the old situation. In essence, the students were still stratified in ways that reflected a 19th-century view of life. Teachers knew, however, that they were supposed to achieve something different from an upper-class gentleman's education. Entrapped in this uncomfortable dilemma, practically no one feels content.

Discontentment also results when there is a lack of communication and unity among teachers. Group work and interdisciplinary study were advocated by innovators, but teachers were often inexperienced in interacting with their colleagues, even within the language department of their own school. How can one achieve a common project with a history teacher when one does not even communicate with other language teachers?

Inservice education

This isolation of teachers from their colleagues is also reflected in the inservice situation in Holland, where an overall attitude of weariness and pessimism dominates. The training courses offered by the Ministry of Education meet with decreasing interest; enrollments are low. Teachers' organizations reach largely the same audience in most activities; getting most teachers together frequently enough to have any positive impact upon them is extremely difficult. More often than not, the better part of meetings is spent complaining. Papers are poorly read and rarely considered carefully. Ideas that appear in articles dealing with the teaching of another language are seldom transferred to one's own situation. Involvement in inservice training programs is low even where good funding is available. Although travel expenses are usually funded by the Ministry of Education, a few hours of travel appear to be too great an obstacle for many in the profession. One continually meets the same teachers at the meetings. Many of the participants are those teachers who have the least need for inservice training; others seem present only physically, and a few hours of mere presence every two months has little effect. Many seem totally unaware of problems that exist. Membership in organizations of the trade union variety is much higher than in associations with pedagogical aims. In these circumstances it is not surprising that teacher trainers continually wonder why they donate their free time for this kind of work.

Professional journals

Professional journals, such as *Levende Talen* (Living Languages), the journal of the Dutch equivalent of ACTFL, are not widely read. Readers complain about the difficulty of the prose, the excessive use of jargon and technical terms, and the academic approach to the problems discussed. Most topics, however, are difficult to state in the simplistic terms of mass newspapers. For example, elementary statistics cannot easily be excluded from a discussion of test results. Because testing has been a very important area recently, many readers feel constantly frustrated. Comparable journals published outside the Netherlands face the same dilemma. A major implication of this situation is that only a small number of professionals are acquainted with work done or being done in the profession.

Although our professional organization (*Levende Talen*) is called an "association," it is more like a federation of AATs (in

American terms). Teachers of French number 1706; German, 1324; English, 1065; Italian, 51; Russian, 77; Spanish, 163; and Dutch as a first language, 2701. Each section organizes meetings and training sessions devoted to topics of current interest. Testing, especially essay grading, is now getting considerable attention. Listening and reading comprehension tests in French, German, and English have been discussed a great deal in the past few years. Listening tests have been introduced in schools on a voluntary basis, reading tests as part of the centralized national examinations. In spite of hesitancy on the part of teachers, these new testing procedures have had considerable influence upon both teaching and curriculum development.

Number of teachers

Foreign language instruction: A search for guidelines

During two recent visits to the United States questions were frequently raised to me about the general level of proficiency in foreign languages in the Netherlands. American colleagues seem to be fascinated with the thought of our knowing French, German, and English. Of course, in the Netherlands we have a natural need for foreign language instruction. The size of the country and the fact that Dutch is spoken by a mere 13 million persons in Holland and perhaps six or seven million elsewhere both militate for foreign language proficiency. A generation ago French, German, and English were commonly learned, and learning one or two additional languages was not unusual. Gradually, however, challenges and criticisms of language instruction have increased. Even with five to six years on a three-hour-per-week basis, only a minority achieved a "traditional" knowledge of the foreign language via the grammar/translation method that was used. The method put large groups of students at a disadvantage because of the impossibility of their benefiting from translation procedures that rely heavily upon complex cognitive processes. Growing international contacts increased the need for spoken communication.

Methodology

Gradually, greater emphasis has been placed upon speaking and listening skills. Language laboratories have been introduced. Not only have skill emphases been changed, but there is also a growing tendency to abandon the traditional trinity of foreign languages in favor of a functional knowledge of fewer

Language selection

languages. As students could drop one or two languages, many believed that enrollments would be a good indicator of the relative needs for the various languages in our society. Student choices, however, are not being made on the basis of societal needs. Only English, which is compulsory, is seen as responding to a need, which is, according to some, a need to understand and sing popular songs. A dominant factor in selecting a language seems to be its perceived relative ease of acquisition. For example, German, with its complicated case system, is seen as difficult and French even more so.

Legislation in the late 1960s dealing primarily with Frisian (a Germanic language spoken in the northwestern part of the Netherlands–the only official bilingual area) later provided for the introduction of Italian, Russian, and Spanish into the curriculum. Russian has been introduced beginning with the second grade of *vwo* and *havo,* though only in five schools. In an experimental program Spanish has been introduced into 11 schools as of August 1975. Schools from *mavo* and *havo* to *gymnasia* and *athenea* volunteered to participate. Unfortunately, Italian instruction has not yet been initiated.

Europe, the follower

As the emphasis in language instruction shifted toward the communication skills, adoption of audiolingual procedures seemed inevitable. As is frequently the case, Europe had followed the pattern of the United States and had adopted, without challenge, a learning theory that was applicable to animal learning or to first language development in children. The model was transported into the foreign language classroom without classroom experimentation. Audiolingualism and its French audiovisual relative created considerable confusion in Dutch language classes. At first appraisal, replacing translation with communication in the spoken language seemed quite reasonable. The dogmas did not, however, fit our situation and teaching habits. What was devised for a five-hour-a-day course in France was difficult to telescope into three hours a week in our system. CREDIF stressed the necessity for a specific prescribed approach with little freedom or flexibility. Translation could not be combined with CREDIF's goals. Grammar as an ancillary had to be banned. Hesitant teachers met with scornful reproach, for dogmas create schisms. Among theoreticians communication, understanding, and reciprocal borrowing grew very slowly. Only recently has an eclectic approach combining the best of the two extremes managed reasonable methodological answers to replace the earlier unreasonable claims of the imported techniques. Many teachers fear that too much change may have caused us to lose our traditional strong points.

Advocates of the new eclecticism now face the task of preventing a retrogressive backlash and of providing a framework for sound experimentation within the classroom. Unfortunately, measurement instruments are scarce, and clean experiments without uncontrolled variables are difficult to conduct.

Testing

New forms of testing have resulted from revised curricula and the reconsideration of language needs. In an experiment with new forms for national final examinations for *havo* and *vwo*, multiple-choice reading comprehension tests have been substituted for the older translation tests. The inclusion of a speaking and a listening comprehension test are also recent innovations. The Institute for Applied Linguistics of Utrecht University has developed listening comprehension tests that are now administered in a number of schools as part of the noncentrally organized and prescribed "school examination." Reading comprehension is tested by one central examination; speaking and listening are administered by the schools. Final grades are a combination of marks from the two sources, including those given by the student's own teachers. The Central Institute for Test Development (CITO) provides the reading tests as well as a number of other tests for various subject areas and levels of schooling. Although CITO provides the tests, committees of teachers establish norms for grading.

A problem arises, however, in the administration and evaluation of new forms of tests by teachers who have not been properly initiated. How, in the inhospitable climate previously described and with little training, can a teacher master the intricacies of multiple-choice testing? The first efforts to replace translation examinations with multiple-choice formats were awkward and widely criticized. Yet, discrete-point testing has gradually been refined and has produced an additional benefit. Testing has helped to define levels of proficiency in spite of the fact that foreign language goals had been vaguely stated.

New curricular goals and procedures have brought with them new texts and materials and the subsequent problem of selec-

Textbook evaluation

tion. Textbook evaluation has long been a matter of concern for the "didactics" committee of the French, German, and English sections. There is a particularly good record in French and German for providing detailed information in a series of brochures about textbooks and teaching materials. Materials are being described in terms of previously established checklists. The use of checklists is limited however. A checklist cannot possibly provide a value judgment on the basis of local situational factors. Even in cases where reviewers are able to give a detailed account of content, progression rates, lexical items, reentries of particular problems, or the kind of practice provided, predicting effectiveness in a certain teacher's classroom is almost impossible.

What the published checklists can do is help the teacher make up his own mind about materials after he has read the detailed descriptions and has taken into account his own teaching style, experience, and school situation. Unfortunately, teachers more readily rely on subjective impressions and hearsay than upon analysis: A social telephone call to a colleague often determines book selection. Relatedly, the careful, scrutinizing reviews of new materials may perpetuate the use of older materials merely because these older (and by no means better) materials have never been subjected to such review.

Checklists may gradually evolve into inventories that also describe the biases, views, and philosophy of the reviewer. This would aid interpretation of the review. Interesting issues such as the solicitation of student opinion seem problematic to us. How can one reliably separate students' opinions about the textbook from their opinions about the teacher? The need for adequate and appropriate research in the domain of texts and materials, as well as in other areas of foreign language education, is clearly indicated.

Research: An overview

Future language needs

In the Netherlands considerable research effort at the Institute for Applied Sociology at Nijmegen University is being devoted to identifying future language needs. The first preliminary report (October 1974) synthesizes available literature on professed language needs (4). Topics treated include: subject-matter selection (which for English approaches 100%, German

70%, and French 35% in most schools); relationships between languages chosen and types of higher education; analysis of various European curriculum guidelines; and socioeconomic, scientific, cultural, political, linguistic, and pedagogical rationales for the relative value of studying the various languages. The study also deals with results of questionnaires designed to identify: interest in French, German, and English; data obtained from former students about the languages they actually use most during work and social life; relative percentages of languages selected during schooling; and total number of hours those languages are taught (directly related, of course, to legal requirements and therefore not comparable to enrollment studies in the United States).

A second study is being undertaken that will attempt to define further future needs and trends. Until recently the trinity of French, German, and English was unchallenged. Mammoth opened doors to Frisian, Russian, Spanish, and Italian. It offered a beginning of free choice, challenging the profession to take a fresh look at things that were previously taken for granted. Students are now supposed to make the right choice for themselves; naturally, teachers would like to know what choice students are going to make, for teachers also like to plan their futures.

Research areas

The same report contains an inventory of 70 research projects in the Netherlands between 1965 and 1974. The projects are of a varied nature. Basically, they deal with goals and objectives in a broad sense, goals and objectives in a narrow sense, content selection, curriculum design, test development, course evaluation, evaluation of language laboratory materials and teaching strategies, and miscellaneous topics. Research in Holland covers a wide range of topics, and coverage may be fragmentary or comprehensive, purely descriptive or experimental, specific or highly generalizable. Several areas of research are not represented. Whether that is to be regretted is a question linked to the relevance of any particular area to the needs of the individual.

Description of Research Projects

The category of goals and objectives in a wider sense has been examined by means of a large number of questionnaires on language needs. The relevance of individual questionnaires to the major question is frequently limited because most surveys are restricted to one or two groups of learners or to only one language. The Institute for Applied Sociology (ITS) will soon provide a broader framework of inquiry.

Goals and objectives in a narrower sense generally lack detailed definition. At present, they seem to be defined indirectly through developments in testing. The Institute for Applied Linguistics at Utrecht University and CITO in Arnhem have formulated explicit objectives for test development: Tests of listening comprehension, speaking, and writing have been operationalized or are currently being researched.

The Institutes for Applied Linguistics at Nijmegen and Groningen Universities are working on a definition of the minimum lexical level for French, English and German for *mavo, havo,* and *vwo* respectively. Analysis of existing textbooks has been undertaken for only French and German curricula. Research on teaching and learning strategies is quite recent. The examination of classroom procedures and their evaluation seems most crucial; it is important that research in this domain involve teachers. As stated above, recent test development originates mainly at the Institute for Applied Linguistics at Utrecht University, and CITO Test construction in Holland has had considerable impact on the delineation of the goals of language education. Course evaluation has been focused mainly on language laboratory courses and results of televised courses in adult education in French and Spanish. Teleac, the continuing education branch of Dutch Television, regularly presents language courses for adult beginners and "advanced" students. Curiously, television language courses seem to interest researchers more than do classroom courses, probably because of the vast number of variables involved in evaluating effectiveness in the classroom. Televised courses and their accompanying printed and recorded materials present essentially the same kinds of research problems to be investigated: Typically, researchers try to probe into the relative value of different components of the course–televised lessons, records, books, and complementary teacher-assisted sessions; others firmly believe that only global measurements of achievement make sense.

Little time is involved in the refinement of questionnaires that are aimed at defining language needs for individual languages. Suggestive but frequently inconclusive results are abundant.

The last section of the report, miscellaneous projects, includes the topic of error analysis. This seems to be a neglected area, possibly because findings of earlier elaborate studies failed to provide more than what seems to be common everyday knowledge. From the European perspective, a powerful theoretical framework for further study has not yet emerged from this research.

Elusive theoretical framework

A new type of freedom

Diversifying instruction

Between 1969 and 1972 a team of researchers worked on heterogeneously grouped bridge classes in Schagen. They attempted to develop teaching materials and procedures for differentiated learning within the conventional lockstep system. The secular General Study Pedagogical Center (APS) assisted teachers of the Schagen Community of Schools where various types of tracking are combined within one system) in developing basic, enrichment, and review materials as well as diagnostic and selective tests.

Mastery learning

At KPC (Catholic Pedagogical Center) Nuy and Timmermans are working on an application of Bloom's conceptualization of mastery learning to Dutch education. Their study involving curriculum analysis and the construction of diagnostic tests applies to Dutch as a first language as well as to French, English, history, geography, mathematics, and biology. The development of differential programs (including basic and enrichment materials) has also been undertaken. This project is being carried out in seven different subject-matter areas in the bridge classes of *mavo* schools. These researchers should be especially commended for their production of informative booklets on the theory of mastery learning; they provide teachers with the theoretical basis for implementing this promising educational innovation.

Specialists at the Protestant Pedagogical Study Center (CPS), discontented with current Mammoth practices concerning the bridge year, originated plans for a Protestant comprehensive community of schools where innovative bridge classes would be instituted. The objectives and innovative strategy of this project indicate an attempt to integrate *mavo*, lower agricultural education (*llo*), and lower technical education (*lts*) into a two-year bridge class where no repeating of a grade would be permitted. The common goals stress individual and group work, student interaction, self-election and determination, parent involvement (by no means a common feature in Dutch secondary education), and integration of subject matter (religion, geography and history in one cluster, and biology, physics and science in another cluster). After the first two years of work there seems to be no single model for differentiation, nor does a unique model seem desirable. English as a second language seems to have been most successful in maintaining the original concept of differentiation into basic and enrichment materials and the use of diagnostic tests after basic materials have been mastered. Present options include differentiation according to students' progress in subject matter, presentation of content, learning activities, and interest. Dutch as a first language shows a "three-round model"–basic materials (Round 1) followed by two rounds of enrichment materials. Sequentially ordered subject matter such as languages and mathematics have chosen this type of ordering; the religion-geography-history cluster differentiates instead according to rate of learning.

Humanistic goals

Individualization

CPS has produced most of the new teaching materials. Teachers, however, are voicing concern that they are not being included in the process. This new interest is a heartening phenomenon! Those involved feel that diagnostic testing can be most successfully introduced when teachers, students, and parents favor the idea. Students' progress is communicated on "continuous report cards" that describe mastery levels in specific language skills in terms of letter grades. Students' attitudes and performance on repeated and enrichment practice are also recorded on these cards. Periodic reports summarize the continuous reports.

Summing up the results of this innovative project cannot do justice to the great effort involved; it is virtually the first attempt at teacher-supported and teacher-initiated innovative action. Outside help has always been provided by the government; never before has the community become involved. Private funding is nonexistent, resource persons unheard of, and parental involvement has been scarce after elementary school. Quite a bit of courage is required to start such an undertaking in Hol-

Teacher involvement

land. Yet this type of action is essential for the improvement of language learning in the last quarter of the 20th century. Another example of innovation involves 26 bridge classes in differentiated French known under the name of the "Carrefour" project (2) (after the materials used). Teachers in several schools cooperate with testing experts of CITO. Class periods are divided into instructional and individual segments. Testing is being conducted on a diagnostic basis. Gradual acceptance by colleagues in other schools is considered essential if the program is to have impact. The first year of experimentation (1973-74) mainly led to a revision of the tests used. Remaining problem areas include grading curves and standards, different levels of achievement in Carrefour and non-Carrefour classes, change in motivation, criteria for enrichment programs, articulation between basic and enrichment programs, the question of whether receptive measurement is sufficient for determining advancement into the next unit in the program, quantification of errors in written tests, and minimal inservice teacher training.

Carrefour

Analysis of curriculum has led to better pacing, but no "short cuts" for the more able students have been made: All students work their way through these improved materials. Change within the European lockstep system must occur gradually through compromise.

Another area that shows promise for innovative action is interdisciplinary studies. In recently reported interdisciplinary research Carpay (1) developed a "decision-making tree" in a minigrammar of aspect in Russian and conducted experiments with first-year students of psychology at the university level. No previous knowledge of Russian was involved. Students learned to view verb aspect the Russian way, acquiring an awareness comparable to that of a native speaker of Russian. The algorithmic tree functions as an instruction manual that gradually renders itself superfluous. Programmed instruction overcame teacher variance. The total learning experience involved two sessions of 90 minutes each. Results indicate good control of the concepts involved in three hours of learning. Testing involved 18 previously unfamiliar sentences. Drawing on first language (no Russian is involved in this experiment) is not unique in the profession. The late William Bull and his staff held this

Interdisciplinary

same view in their development of *Spanish for Communication* in the United States, combining audiolingualism, applied linguistics, and Ausubel's learning psychology. Nevertheless, two rather unique features of this project seem to be the mastery of a much-feared concept in Russian grammar (Spanish has much the same problem) by means of a visualized semantic deep structure and the fact that identical views are held in such distant parts of the world as Russia and the United States. (Carpay's work is derived in part from Russian learning psychology.)

Although this project–like many other interdisciplinary efforts–may be criticized by learning psychologists as well as by linguists, slavists, and pedagogues, blending linguistics with learning psychology into lesson planning would seem to deserve support rather than scorn.

Summary

This chapter is one writer's attempt to provide a perspective of foreign language education in the Netherlands. Consequently, other writers might have selected different information in a different light. Each reader must also seek for himself what is relevant to him; therefore, each reader's summary would be different from any other's.

1 The lessons of Mammoth might be generalizable to many situations. The legislation created an urgent need to define goals and objectives clearly. As a consequence, much effort has gone into developing new ways of testing–especially of testing skills that had been ignored previously. The history of Mammoth shows the need for research and planning before the initiation of change rather than after the fact. Only lately is effort being devoted to creating a better congruence between instruction and the new goals. In this kind of situation teachers inevitably felt imposed upon; they resented change being imposed without their participation in the change. Thus, the subsumer for much of this discussion is that *change cannot come about by decree*.

2 From the disappointments of the past is a glimmer of hope for the future. We are coming to understand our past in-

consistencies and errors. We see the difficulty in attempting to emphasize the individual and his freedoms while at the same time retaining uniform standards and final exams to assure quality. We are beginning to experiment cautiously and deliberately with curricular change. The new comprehensive secondary school for 12 to 16 year olds, for example, is a promising development. Perhaps most optimistically, more and more of us are gradually coming to believe that a combined effort by members of our essentially medieval guild, using our skills as well as our experience, will lead us from the depressing mood of the past and set us on the road to where the perspective is truly a new freedom.

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The unfortunate inaccessibility of Dutch to most American readers reduces a lengthy bibliography to limited utility. Instead, the author is willing to offer his assistance in procuring additional information. Correspondence should be addressed to him at:

Instituut voor Toegepaste Taalkunde
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